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The fall of the German gods

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THE FALL OF THE GERMAN GODS

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The Fall
OF THE GERMAN GODS

By H. E. Westermeyer

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TO

The sons and daughters of our home:
Harry, Jr., Darlene, Claribel, and Robert,

and to

All the sons and daughters of my
history classrooms: past, present, and future,

and to

The ministers of God's word,
young and old alike,

and to

All others who seek after a better understanding
of things both temporal and eternal,
This volume is sincerely dedicated.

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Preface

WITHIN recent times the Germans have had gods many and lords many. The dominance of Nazism in Germany was intensified by the spell of many a captivating god, and the sudden breakup of Nazidom was hastened by the teamwork of numerous conquering lords.

Although the German gods have fallen, the victors still hold their several zones. The divided control of prostrate Germany is, therefore, an unfinished story. But the fanatical worship of Nazi gods, which promised to make the Germans lords of the earth as Aryan-pure *Herrenvolk,* followed by their blitzlike fall, is an accomplished tragedy.

It is the purpose of this book to point out why this ill-founded worship took place in a cultured nation like Germany, what effect it had upon the established churches of the nation, and what safeguards are necessary to keep other countries from falling into a pit similar to that of National Socialism.

A brief characterization of the Germans is given in the Introduction. For purposes of orientation, chapter 1 contains a comprehensive view of the part religion has played in German history.

In harmony with the title of this book, chapter 2 deals specifically with the fall of the several gods whom the Germans worshiped while they were under the domination of National Socialism. While the style here is somewhat figurative, it accords with the symbolisms which quickened German hearts and hands.

Chapter 3 is more factual. Here the blockade of Berlin, the daring airlift, the economic impasse, and the Communist menace are given in a co-ordinated, matter-of-fact manner. The purpose is to show how the economic, political, and social conditions in a shattered Germany have affected German Protestantism since the end of World War II.

Chapters 4 to 8 constitute a condensation and simplification of my doctorate dissertation, entitled, *The Religious Policies of the Third Reich, 1933-37*. The original work was done under the able direction of Dr. Ralph Haswell Lutz of the history department of Stanford University. Dr. Harold Fisher, professor of history and chairman of the Hoover Library, also read the original manuscript and made valuable suggestions. The thesis was approved by the committee on graduate study of Stanford University in August, 1946.

I have endeavored to make the work readable and helpful for the general public. At the same time I have also included material that will be of value to the specialist.

Most of the research was done in the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, located on the campus of Stanford University. Its vast collection of documents relating to recent world conflicts, modern social problems, public opinion, and propaganda makes this library one of the most helpful research centers in these fields in the world. In addition, I derived much help from leading American and European authorities on German religion.

The attempt to keep the book within readable size entailed the excision of a good deal of material. Not only did I have to abandon important portions in the body of the thesis, but valuable data in the appendixes and bibliography had to be left out as well.

The main part of chapters 4-8 is limited, in point of time, to the quinquennium extending from 1933 to 1937; that is, from the time of the victory of National Socialism to the issuance of the papal encyclical, *Mit brennender Sorge,* Martin Niemoeller's arrest, and Hitler's decree for a new Protestant church election. It was often necessary to go beyond the limits of this period to show the relation between important events of this period and historical developments of other periods.

Generally speaking, the reader need not concern himself with the key numbers referring to citations or reference notes. With the exception of my personal contact with Martin Niemoeller, referred to in chapter 3, everything essential to an understanding of the subject is included in the body of the text. The references are given for the benefit of any who may wish to consult source materials for themselves.

Foreign expressions have been used only when they defied English translation. The twenty-five-point program of the Nazi party, an index to important religious legislation, Dr. Bruening's letter, a glossary of German terms, and a chronological table are included in the appendixes.

Although my conclusions are indicated in each chapter, I have added a final chapter for purposes of focusing attention on important lessons to be learned from Germany's ill-starred experiment with National Socialism.

While a definitive history of religion in recent Germany still remains to be written, *The Fall of the German Gods* is offered as an attempt to bring about a better understanding of that important subject.

This book has passed the scrutiny of many helpful friends among both colleagues and students, to whom I am deeply indebted and ever grateful.

Particularly am I under tribute to a little woman of German-Swiss extraction by the name of Clara Helen Reinmuth Westermeyer, whose unnumbered acts of helpfulness really entitle her to be named as coauthor of this work—an honor which, alas, falls considerably short of doing her full justice.

H. E. WESTERMEYER.

Introduction

The Germans

There was a time when the Germans were noted for their Christ child stories and Christmas toys; for their Lorelei carols, music boxes, and cuckoo clocks; for their industries, universities, and beer gardens.

Their poets, philosophers, and religious leaders have often pointed to the peak of moral and aesthetic culture; but their kaisers, Krupps, and Junkers have often led into the valley of sorrows.

Behold these Germans! Possessed of selfishness, pride, combativeness, inventiveness, patriotism, comradeship, religious fervor, and skepticism—they are fearfully and wonderfully made. What is more, they are human beings—and as such they exhibit characteristics similar to other people, regardless of nationality.

A German always remains German, even as a Frenchman remains French, and an Englishman remains English. But in one thing they are all alike: Their feet are made of clay.

While recognizing the common frailties of mankind, it must be conceded, however, that today's Germany is under a special degree of guilt. The land of Luther's Bible and Schiller's *Glocke,* of Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* and Kant's ideal of peace, was turned into a maelstrom of antireligious, antiartistic, antiphilosophical vulgarities that make decent people blink their eyes and hang their heads in dismay.

A century ago Germany was a heterogeneous assortment of political nonentities—kingdoms, duchies, free cities, and the like—a *Kleinstaaterei.* It was a land of dreamers, given to art, culture, and local loyalties.

These princely regimes left to the fatherland more art collections and libraries, more parks, fountains, and botanical gardens, than were to be found in any other country of Europe. The earlier Germans had their quota of earth-bound and irrational Michels among them, but many of their number reached into the starry world for the fulfillment of their hopes.

Voltaire facetiously said that while the French ruled the land and the British the sea, the Germans ruled the clouds. In the light of the intrinsic senselessness of recent Nazidom and its tragic collapse, can it be that the German national character itself is actually a creature of the clouds, even of storm clouds?

Beginning with Bismarck the Germans were taught that their problems would be settled, not by parliamentary discussions, but by blood and iron. This became the pabulum with which saber-scarred students bolstered their spirits and battle-seasoned soldiers fortified their pride.

After Germany had fought a victorious war against the French, her kaisers were led to believe that the shining armor of their military forces would enable them to expand in the spirit of imperial Rome. The fact that such a program would jeopardize peace was not at all frightening, for perpetual peace was believed to be a not very beautiful dream. In contrast, war was held to be ordained by God to lift the nation and to keep the world from stagnation.

The Germans were proud of their ability to war, until they tasted the defeat of World War I. Wiser from its hurts, Germany for a time turned republic.

But German democracy was caught in an avalanche of historical events, resulting in confusion and uncertainty on every hand. The ancient gods of storm and might once more asserted themselves and brought forth the super-Fuehrer Hitler, the superphilosopher Rosenberg, the superpropagandist Goebbels, the superhangman Himmler, the super-Aryan race—and catastrophe!

This, then, is the epitaph of the modern Germans: During the last eighty years they lived under two emperors, a bankrupt republic, and a power-obsessed Fuehrer. Twice within the short period of twenty-five years their goose-stepping troops and mighty armored units sought to conquer the world, and both times they suffered overwhelming defeat, leaving their unhappy land a has-been nation, a divided, disorganized, and demoralized political question mark, bereft of its gods of might and occupied by contentious lords.

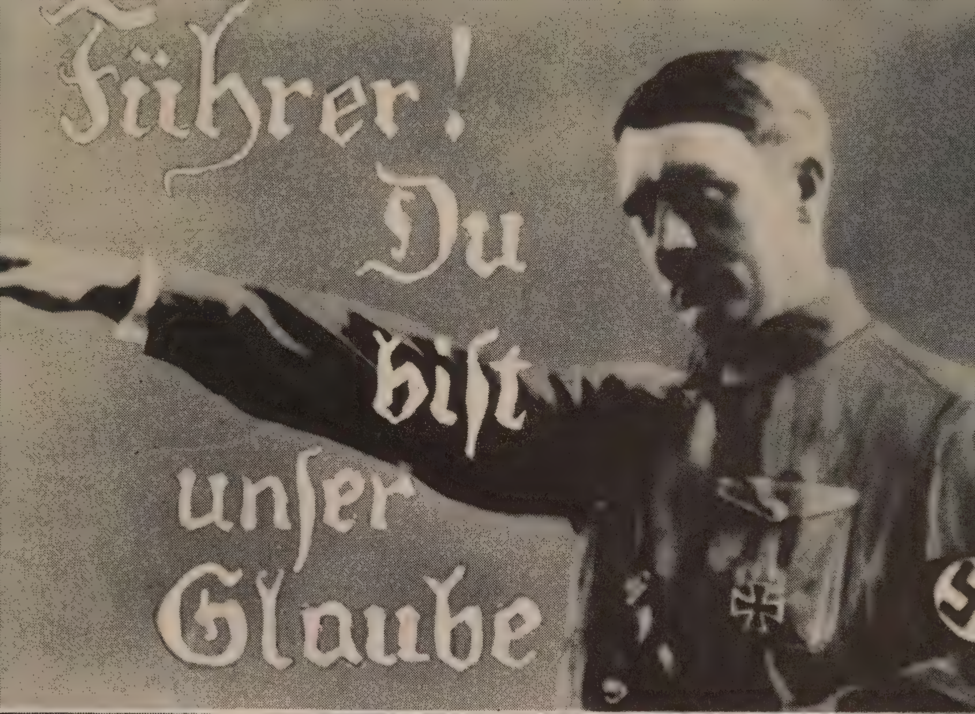
Yet, wonder of wonders, these lords who yesterday fought as brothers-in-arms to subdue the troublesome Germans, today bid, each in his own way, for the support of the erstwhile enemy.

The Germans, who meanwhile have dug out of their ruins, listen impassively to these blandishments against the background of a clash of voices in a cold war. What curious importance this maimed land possesses and what strange characteristics its conquered people exhibit to make them important enough, even in defeat, for both the East and the West to flatter!

This is largely the result of the fact that Germany is the heartland of Central Europe and the key to its economic recovery and defense. As a general thing, people in any strategically located area tend to have a baffling importance, be they Germans, Jews, Irish, or members of any other race.

In particular, however, the nations find it difficult to get along with the inhabitants of Europe's heartland, and at the same time they find it difficult to get along without them. What a dilemma for all concerned!

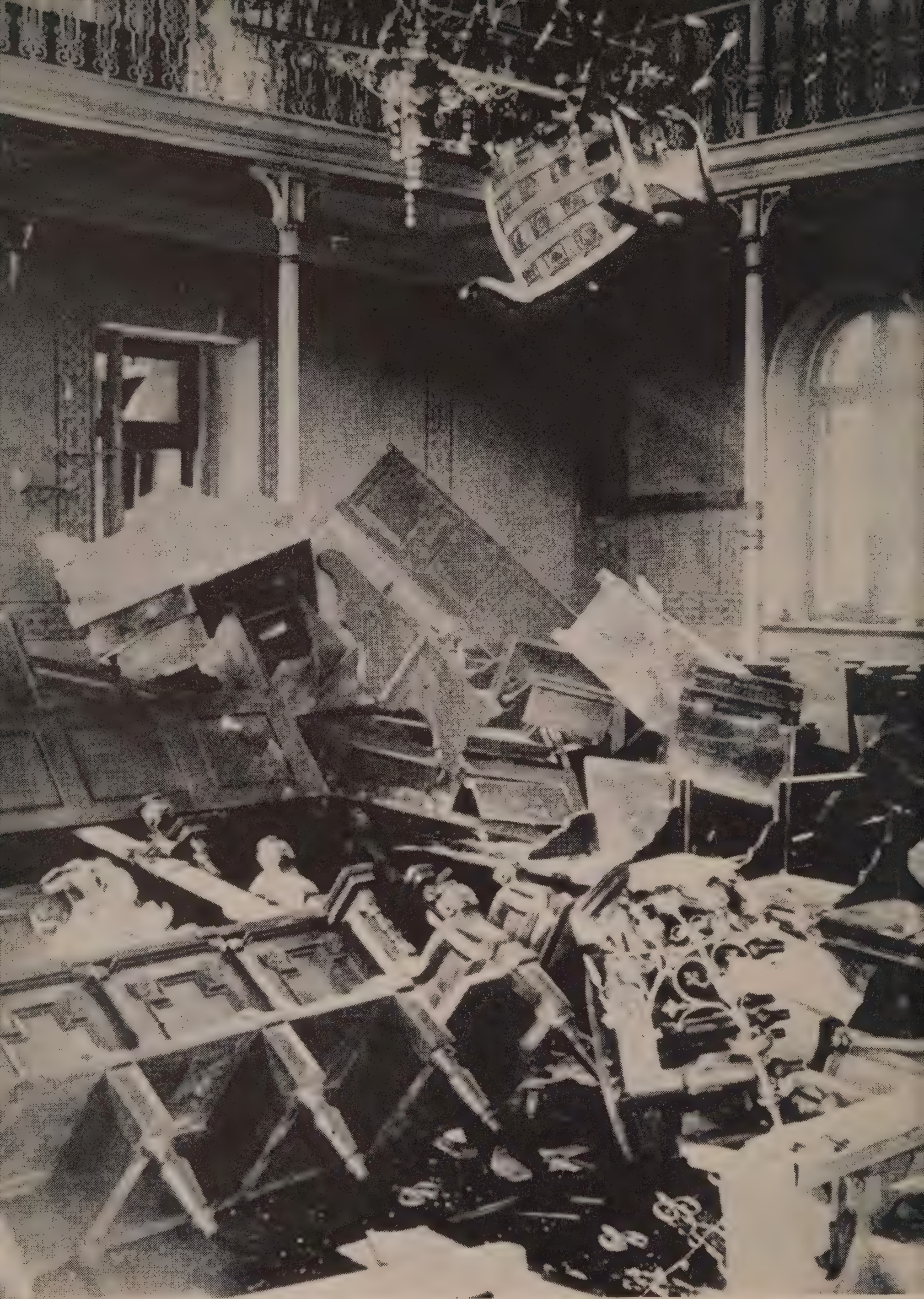
It is this very dilemma that makes the Germans and their problems a subject of crucial importance for the world today and for tomorrow.


Führer! Du biſt unſer Glaube

THREE LIONS

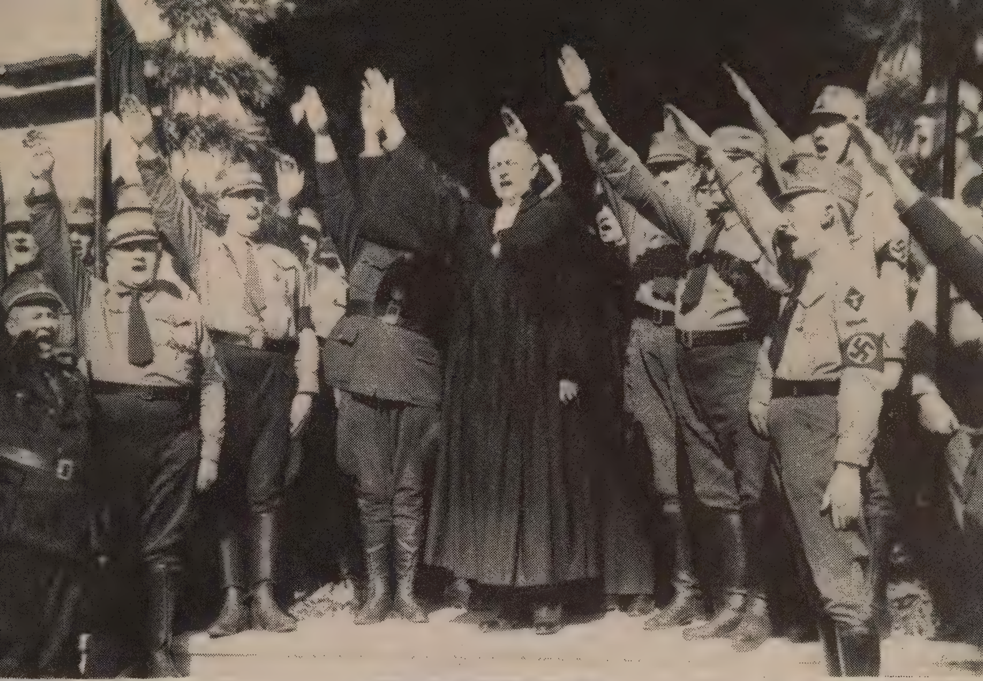
(Above) "Leader! Thou art our belief!" are the words lettered on the poster of Hitler. This placard was a favorite on streets and in halls.

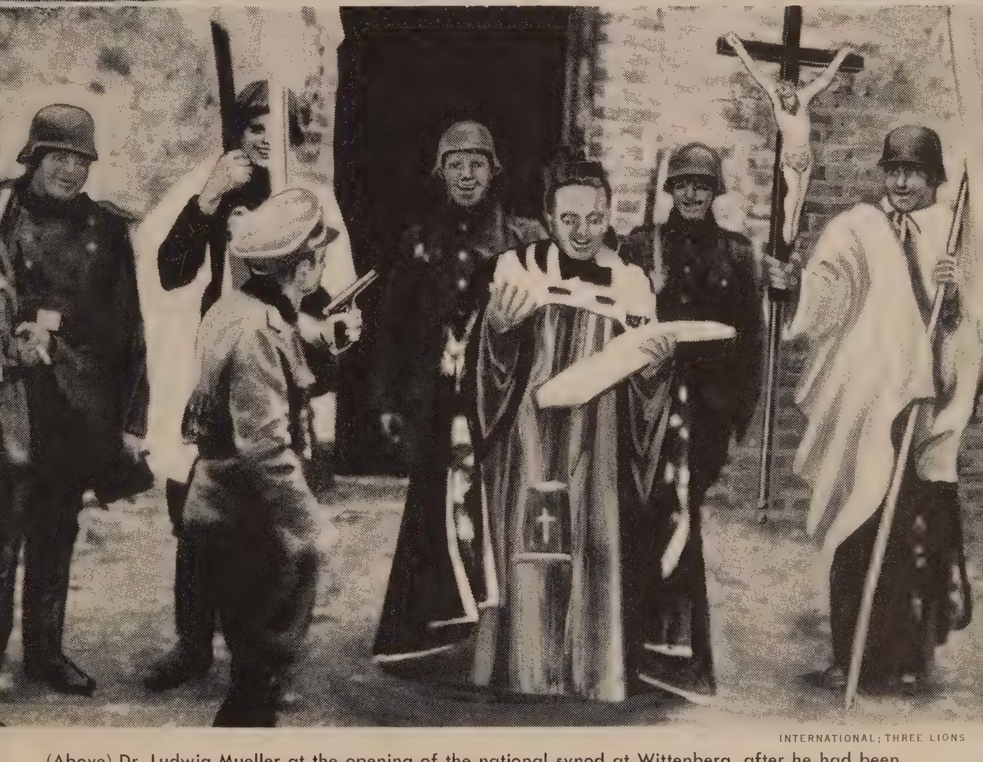
(Below) On Christmas it was Hitler who was feted. Here are young women decking a portrait of Hitler with greenery of the Christmas season.



THREE LIONS

Churches in the conquered regions were often deliberately destroyed by the Nazi storm troopers, who were encouraged to wreak havoc on religion at every opportunity.

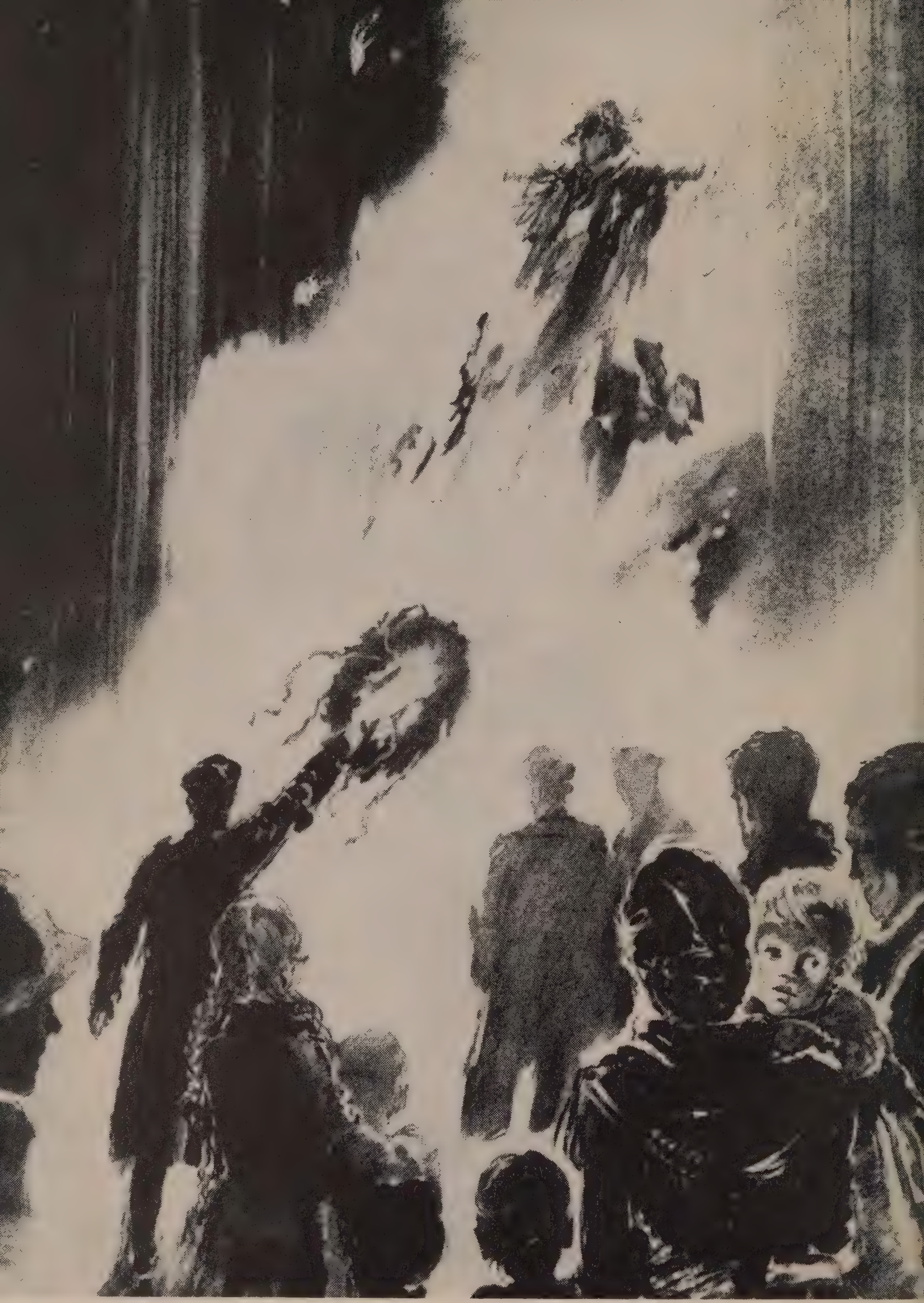




INTERNATIONAL; THREE LIONS

(Above) Dr. Ludwig Mueller at the opening of the national synod at Wittenberg, after he had been made head of the Reich's Evangelical Church.

(Below) Ridicule of religion was a part of the Nazi regime. Here Nazi youth were photographed in cleric's robes buffooning the church.



THREE LIONS

The Neopaganism of the Nordics of old was recalled in the festival of the equinox. Here in the Bavarian mountains young Germans gathered to sing songs to the sun and burn crosses in defiance of the Christian religion.

~ 1 ~

Germany, the Land of Religious Struggles

GERMANY has long been a land of religious struggles. Its earliest history abounds with combat and strife in which gods and heroes fight for glory, honor, and dominion. The introduction of Christianity calmed and cowed the German lust for battle, but it did not bring lasting peace. Ever since St. Boniface, the so-called apostle of Germany, hewed down the Donar oak to the chagrin of Teutonic pagans in the eighth century, and ever since Charlemagne continued to superimpose a form of Christianity upon them, religious controversies have been of frequent occurrence among the Germans.

Far from being a glory age of gospel freedom, Christianity of medieval Germany was largely the result of forced conversions. Instead of relying solely upon the power of love to win followers, it came armed with the sword, adopted pagan principles, and corseted the church with the formalities of numerous ecclesiastical prescriptions.

One of the chief characteristics of this early form of Christianity came to be a monopolistic and somewhat pecuniary sacramental system of salvation. It was the alleged merits of this system, in particular, which Luther challenged.

Besides being the land where this erstwhile obscure monk nailed ninety-five disputed theses to the church door at Wittenberg and later defended his stand at Worms, it is also the soil on which afterward was fought a bloody religious war of thirty years' duration. It is the land where the thousand-year contests of the Holy Roman Empire (First Reich) were waged, often between Christian popes and Christian emperors. It was during one of these struggles, to cite a famous historical instance, that Henry IV made his humiliating journey to Canossa to do penance, bareheaded and barefooted, on the snow-laden doorsteps of the ruling pontiff.

This is the land where, centuries later, the mighty Bismarck of the Second Reich, by resorting to a negotiated peace to end his losing Kulturkampf, narrowly missed also going to Canossa. That man of blood and iron made unprecedented strides in uniting Germany politically, but he did not succeed to the same extent in uniting the people ideologically and religiously.

A more complete unification was undertaken when the militant Fuehrer of the Third Reich compelled attention by writing his own Bible, *Mein Kampf,* rooted in racialism and dedicated to the proposition that all pure-blooded Aryans are created with superior powers and that, therefore, of right they ought to be united to rule, not only Germany, but all the earth. Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (*My Battle*) promised a new order, based mainly on the precepts of nationalism, racialism, and paganism. The Fuehrer sought to utilize the Christian forces of the German nation as a political instrument for molding the masses. It was while battling for these ill-founded principles that Germany's latest leader, possessed of a messianic complex, ended his inglorious quest, not at Canossa, but in a *Götterdämmerung* (cataclysm).

The entire period from Charlemagne to Hitler is marked by a complicated series of politico-ecclesiastical struggles, and during all this time the German church was never entirely freed from state control. Even Luther did not bring about complete freedom in this respect. His chief concern was the preaching of the word of God. A practical preacher, he solved his problems as they arose, at a time when church-state relations were inextricably commingled. Although far from achieving a complete separation of church and state, he did, however, make a beginning in that direction. The boon of complete separation we in the United States take entirely too much for granted.

Political developments during the Reformation and post-Reformation periods were such as to make German Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant, regional affairs, with a close connection between the throne and the altar. This arrangement was reflected especially in the territorial state churches of Protestantism (*Landeskirchen*). With slight modifications, these regional state-church organizations were still operative when the Nazis undertook their struggle for totalitarian control.

Hitler's accession to power, as chancellor of Germany, took place on January 30, 1933. It marked the end of the Weimar Republic and the beginning of the National Socialist revolution (Third Reich). This was the second major revolution in Germany within fifteen years. Hitler boasted that his new order would last a thousand years, but it had a shorter life than had the Weimar Republic and ended with his suicide in 1945.

There appears to be agreement on all sides, however, that the transformation of Germany wrought by National Socialism was one of the swiftest and most complete of all historical changes. That it was momentous for Germany, for Europe, and for the world, few will find reason to question.

The Nazi Party constituted a state within a state and undertook to absorb every phase of German life. In this process something more significant than a new government arose among the Germans. There was a mystical exaltation and a sudden expansion and idolization of their national spirit, with youth largely in command.[1] The people (*das Volk*) became inspired with the zeal and courage of a crusade. The swastika came to hold undisputed sway over all but the Cross.

An aroused church viewed with alarm this sudden marshaling of forces under a new banner, with ideals and concepts quite alien to the fundamentals of Christianity. Not only did the modern followers of Luther and Zwingli protest against the dangers of being co-ordinated and subordinated by the racial and political policies of the totalitarian Reich, but Roman Catholics, as well, found cause for strong opposition when their church interests were being jeopardized. The Jews, too, had considerable basis for their contention that they were made a scapegoat, ejected into a veritable wilderness of despair. The attack upon the latter group was primarily for racial reasons, yet indirectly such discrimination touched vitally upon basic religious aspects by reason of the fact that the Jewish race is inseparably associated with the history, the writing, and the content of the Holy Scriptures, upon which the fundamentals of Christianity are based.

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[1] (Numbers refer to notes beginning on page 236.)

These religious groups, especially the Christian leaders, generally conceived the church to be a supernatural, supernational, and superracial institution, and thus not amenable to any national-political-social theory. However, the determined builders of the Third Reich reasoned otherwise. A favorite policy with them was known as *Gleichschaltung*. It meant the co-ordination and regimentation of every agency within the totalitarian state to harmonize with the Naziological concepts of a new world order (*Weltanschauung*). Basic among these concepts was the mystically conceived triad of people, blood, and soil (*Volk, Blut, und Boden*), which spurred national enthusiasm and emphasized the vital relationship between the soul of the people and the land from which they drew their subsistence. These ideological entities were magnified until they welded the German people into an embattled nation, even causing them to worship this triunity of forces as the very gods of nationalism, racialism, and paganism. The churches were not to be exempted from the influences and demands of such all-embracing theories and practices.

History reveals that religious ideals are far more convictive than other concepts, and under a strong religious impulse there are always those whose convictions will lead them to undergo martyrdom. It has been truly said that religion is like a nail: The harder it is hit, the deeper it goes. This helps to explain why no real rapprochement took place between the totalitarian Reich and the religious groups. The latter continued unsubdued and constituted the only organized force which did not become entirely co-ordinated within the Third Reich.

Thus in a special sense the land of the Reformation once more became a religious storm center. It continued to serve as a historic proving ground of both Roman Catholic and Evangelical life.[2]

Even though present-day Germany is divided and is subservient to the control of its several conquerors, influences still radiate from this area to challenge and stimulate religious interests everywhere.

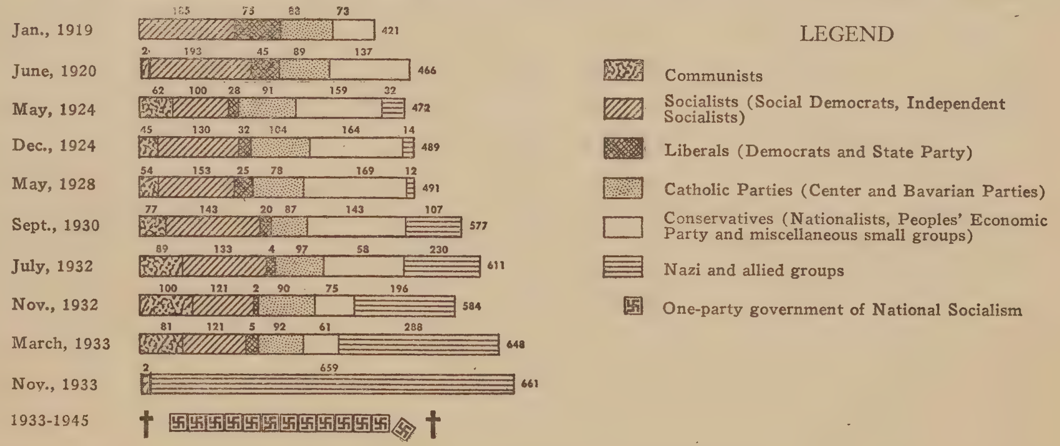
The lessons today's Germany would teach must not be lost upon other countries and peoples. As many misguided Israelites of old became restive under Jehovah's chastening rod and rejected the true witness from the mount that they might fashion unto themselves strange gods, the worship of which led ultimately to dispersion and national collapse, so multitudes among recent Germans became dissatisfied with divine guidance and cast aside the oracles of faith that they might follow Hitler's leadership, Fuehrerism, into captivity, rubble, and ashes.

The Germans were not taken entirely unawares. Neither had they lacked opportunity to make further reforms in this land of the Reformation.

Within fifteen years, between 1918 and 1933, they had been under three different forms of government: monarchic, republic, and Nazi. With the collapse of the Hohenzollerns in 1918 came changes, not only in the state government, but also in the church government. Under the aegis of the Weimar Republic, sovereignty of the people took the place of sovereignty of the prince. In harmony with democratic principles, the Weimar Constitution stipulated that there would be no state church, but that church and state should be separate.

Each state, thereupon, gave itself a new constitution, and each of the regional churches did likewise. Here was the opportunity for Christian leaders to capitalize upon the period of

Hitler's Thirteen-Year Rise to Power Between the Two Revolutions of 1918 and 1933, and the *Goetterdaemmerung* in the Thirteenth Year of His Rule



This chart shows the political trend in the election of the Weimar Assembly and in nine subsequent elections of the Reichstag. The number of seats in the Reichstag varied with the size of the popular vote. Each 60,000 votes elected one deputy. Note the increase in the size of the revolutionary parties—Nazi and Communist—after the economic depression of 1929.

Also note that the Catholic parties maintained a rather even strength throughout until they dissolved themselves "voluntarily" early in July, 1933.

Finally note that it took Hitler approximately thirteen years to win control of the German government, and that he held that control until the thirteenth year of his rule—which was also the thirteenth year of the unremitting struggle between the Christian cross and the Nazi cross (*Hakenkreuz*).

—Adapted from Walter Consuelo Langsom, "The World Since 1914" (New York, 1943), page 440.

adversity when religious interests were astir and conditions were favorable for the churches to free themselves from their old political moorings and depend more fully upon their inner spiritual resources to preach the gospel. However, they immediately asked for and received support from the newly organized republican government, and continued to be tied to the state. Consequently the churches failed to obtain the advantage and experience that might have been theirs when later they were confronted with the centralizing forces of the Nazi government.

State support for a church may be comforting during periods of smug security, but it does not suffice in times of crisis; and neither does it contribute to evangelical zeal in reclaiming lost souls for Christ. It takes something extraordinarily more precious than political backing and ready accessibility to state-collected tax money to inspire Christianity to action. Luther understood this and called for advances to be made beyond that which he had achieved in his day. He made it clear that the real power of the church does not come from state support but from the secret place of prayer.

With Hitler's accession to power, the churches continued their demand for legal recognition and for financial aid from the state. This was granted, and to this extent an unholy church-state alliance was entered into.

While it cannot be proved that such yoking together of opposing forces is solely responsible for all the woes experienced by the churches under the Hitlerian regime, the Nazis, nonetheless, had some basis for reasoning that if they were expected to support the church financially, their government had, in return, valid claims upon the churches. In common parlance, "Whoever pays the fiddler has the right to call the tune." Can such reasoning be entirely ignored or satisfactorily refuted anywhere?

A concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich was signed, and a constitution of the German Evangelical Church was approved by the Nazi state. In effect, churchmen were state employees. The Nazi state continued to assess and collect church taxes and pay for church expenses, including the salaries of church officials. Under such conditions it is not difficult to understand why church life was increasingly jeopardized when the Nazis went berserk.

After World War II, similar arrangements were continued whenever occupation forces found it convenient and possible to do so. However, no uniform church policy was carried out, because the conquerors were in disagreement as to the kind of Germany that should be built.

The Germany of 1945 was not the Germany of 1919. Unlike 1919, in 1945 there was invasion and complete military collapse. Unlike 1919, there was ruin of cities along with systematic dismantling of whatever was left of industrial plants; all Germany was divided up and occupied; large portions of the German population were uprooted and transplanted; many churches had been destroyed; and thousands of the clergy had been jailed or sent to the front, never to return. Especially was the latter true in respect to Protestant ministers, for they had no concordat under which they could claim special privileges.

Notwithstanding, the church of 1945, humiliated and shaken by the destruction of material things and the fall of national idols, still had left the Scriptural seven thousand whose knees had not bowed to Baal. These confessed that they had not sufficiently depended on spiritual resources, and they petitioned God anew for pardon, grace, and salvation.

Material destruction cannot destroy the inner life of the church, for that is hid in God with Christ. The removal of institutional incrustation often gives release to new spiritual life.

The church, in spite of its shortcomings, was the only spiritual and moral power to which the people could look for hope, and it was practically the only mouthpiece the Germans had in other lands after the false gods of struggle-torn Nazidom had fallen and their temples had been destroyed.

~ 2 ~

The Fall of the German Gods

UNDER the influence of National Socialism a peculiar assortment of gods was fashioned, especially pleasing to aggressive Germans. Multitudes became obsessed with this homemade pantheon and built strange altars on which to consume everything offensive to the Nazi faith.

"These be your gods, O ye Germans," they were told in effect. "These alone are worthy of your worship and service, for surely they will deliver you from the bondage of an unjust fate."

With characteristic German thoroughness the worship was made far-reaching and effective. Especially was the crusading ardor of youth brought to the fore.[1]

But with the collapse of the German Reich fell also the deities on whom the Nazis had been taught to rely. Astonishingly precipitate and complete was the fall! Only heaps of rubble remained to sadden the land which once flaunted the altars of these uncertain gods—gods of nationalism, racialism, and neopaganism. In a special sense these three had headed the baneful roster of Naziolatry.

In the heyday of Nazidom this triunity of deities, along with the cult of Fuehrerism, formed an integral part of the Hitlerian regime and served as the basis of its dynamic and totalitarian character.

The god of nationalism roused the Germans to a fanatical belief in the uprightness of their country, its invincibility, and its high destiny. It lifted German youth into an atmosphere of venturesomeness and commanded every Nazi to achieve

Germany's rightful place in the sun. It yielded a reanimated *Deutschland über alles*—a haughty notion of Germany's greatness, with an insatiable quest for living space (*Lebensraum*).[2] All fulsome believers saluted their deity with outstretched arms, saying, "Our country's right, not wrong; therefore conquer we must, for whatsoever is German is just."

The god of racialism likewise demanded blind patriotic ardor. It exacted the vow of pure-blooded Aryanism. Its devotees were wont to boast, "Our strength is as the strength of Siegfried,[3] because our blood is pure." Unlike the Beatitudes given on the mount, this god's blessings were not for the meek, the merciful, or the peacemakers. All such were mocked as very weaklings, while a singular blessing attended the warriors and supermen of a racially pure and united people (*Volk*), whose strength was preserved by shunning effete ideas of man's brotherhood and equality. "Mercy" killings for the incurable, sterilization for the weak, concentration camps for the obstreperous, purges for the traitorous, and gas chambers for the misfits were the appalling offerings brought to the altar of this god of Aryan purity.

The god of neopaganism had a unique place in the closely knit triunity in that it sought a Germanization of Christianity. It directed its worshipers to seek their strength in the Nordic hero sagas of the Eddas and the Nibelungenlied. Its doctrine was based on the so-called positive virtues of bravery, chivalry, and love of fatherland, which prevailed among the Germans before an allegedly alien and negative form of Christianity was forced upon them to pollute and weaken their souls. It gloried in pristine Germanism, in struggle and combat, and everything Jewish was anathema.

This fulfilled a prediction made a century earlier, when Heinrich Heine, a German-Jewish poet, wrote that the time would come when the restraining power of the Cross would be broken in Germany and the old stone gods would arise from unremembered ruins—even Thor would leap to life and bring down his hammer upon the Gothic cathedrals of the land.[4]

The cult of Fuehrerism was the unifying and guiding force of this Naziolatrous triad. It laid special stress on the principle of leadership and *Gefolgschaft* (followers), and was predicated on the Naziological truism that all worthy German attributes, aspirations, and authority centered in the person of Hitler. His wild dithyrambs gave support to this idea. The idolization of the Fuehrer was carried to the point where he came to be regarded as a divine incarnation of Germany. He was conceived of as embodying the Germanic folk idea in its fullest sense. His decrees were believed to be indisputable and irrevocable expressions of the natural laws underlying the life of the people, while his writings took the foremost place in Nazi bibliolatry. *Mein Kampf* became a sacred book promising healing to the nation.

In rising crescendos a grateful people chorused "Heil Hitler," while inspired throngs joined in rhythmic *Sieg Heils*[5] to the Nazi gods. Little did the misled worshipers realize that a national Golgotha was in the making.

Like the power-drunk Herod, whose oration the deluded people of apostolic times acclaimed as the voice of God and not of man, and whose blasphemy ended swiftly when "the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory," so Fuehrer Hitler, who received the adulation of his worship-maddened followers in the land of the Reformation, perished in the midst of his years, because he failed to lead his *Volk* to the one and only true Source of the righteousness which exalteth a nation.[6] Both Herod and Hitler, along with their worshipers, were unmindful of the saying, "Whom the gods destroy, they first make mad."

For a time, however, the gods appeared to favor the Germans. The party commanded, the Wehrmacht marched, the Panzer units blitzed, and the Luftwaffe strafed. Not only did the famed watch on the Rhine appear to be secure, but the Siegfried Line and all other German defenses were thought impregnable as well.

Then came Stalingrad. Here the German gods began to meet their nemesis, and at Berlin they met their doom. Far from being invincible, in the hour of extremity these erstwhile gods of might proved to be camouflaged images of miry clay. They went down in the manner of a *Götterdämmerung,* engulfing both Hitler and the cult of Fuehrerism at the same time. The quest for living space (*Lebensraum*) turned all Naziland into dying space (*Sterbensraum*).

So complete, however, had been the one-time dominion of the German gods that when they fell, there was a void.

Into this vacuum moved the conquering lords, who forthwith jockeyed for strategic positions in order to re-create Germany after similitudes pleasing to their several ideas. Instead of a warm friendship among former allies, a cold war ensued. Especially did opposing forces contend for the control of battered Berlin.

Caesar wrote that all Gaul was divided into three parts. The modern conquerors divided *Deutschland* into four parts, whereupon those four victorious nations, foreign among themselves and speaking three different languages, tried to rule a fifth and defeated nation speaking a fourth different language in an area reduced to the world's greatest collection of ruins. There never was anything quite like it before in all history.

Meanwhile many of the disillusioned worshipers of Nazidom had been denazified. A few repented. Some were tried and hanged. Others swallowed deadly phials. To paraphrase Gray's *Elegy:* Their boast of heraldry, their pomp of power, and all that German youth and strength e'er gave had come alike to the unforgiving hour—their paths of glory brought them to the grave. Naziolatry, as it had hitherto been glorified, was no more. It was *kaput.*

These are harsh-sounding words to describe Germany after it had been misled to worship false gods. In poetical kindness one might prefer to muse that the land of Luther, Goethe, and Beethoven—and, incidentally, also the land of Heine[7]—had experienced nothing more than a temporary recession; or, at worst, that it had undergone only a partial disintegration to a point where it resembled Goldsmith's deserted village, but still had in it the hope of an early renaissance.

No such wishful thinking, however, is apropos. In objective truthfulness one is forced to observe that Hitler's promised legacy of a thousand-year Reich ended in a fiasco in its thirteenth year and became a geographical puzzle bereft of its gods and occupied by foreign lords.

This left Germany to a fate similar to that of the Jews and Jerusalem two thousand years ago, and for similar reasons. Even as Israel had been entrusted with the oracles of God, so Germany had been favored as a strong religious center. Jewry, as the Bible reveals, forsook the Lord. In like manner, Germany departed from the true way of life. The retributive judgments of God followed.

With seemingly prophetic insight Luther had seen the doom that would come upon his native land. Because of Germany's ingratitude toward God and its unwillingness to take hold of His word, the Reformer foretold that the land would become heaps of rubble and would be overtaken by a dreadful manifestation of revenge, a revenge so catastrophic that it would be beyond the imagination of the heart of man.[8]

While this prediction may have met partial fulfillment during the Thirty Years' War, the unprecedented devastation of World War II answers Luther's description with telling completeness. Today tongue and pen fail the most versatile observer in his attempt to describe the cataclysm that once was Germany.

A dreadful fate has befallen the land. It is left as a reproach and an astonishment to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people. It is left as an awful object lesson.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the Germans alone are susceptible to delusions, that they alone are guilty of having worshiped false gods, and that they alone are deserving of punishment for their misdeeds.

The underlying problem is not one solely relating to the Germans. It relates also to the Russians and to the Americans, and it relates to others as well. While there may be differences in degree, there are no differences in kind. The problem is the same, and it confronts the entire human race. For that reason whatever happens to Germany, and especially to religion in Germany, is of vital concern to people in other countries as well.

In view of what has taken place in Germany, professing Christians everywhere do well to ponder the comments made by Christ to the pharisaical holier-than-thou's of His day. When a certain tower in Siloam fell and slew eighteen persons, the One who knoweth all queried of those who smugly thought they knew everything, "Think ye that they were sinners above all men that dwelt in Jerusalem?" Answering His own question, He warned, "I tell you, Nay: but, except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."[9]

Is not the lesson to be learned from the fall of the German gods quite clear? Do not these false gods largely reflect the spirit of our age as it ruled in Germany—and perhaps not in Germany alone? May it not be that the record of woe and sorrow that attended their fall is a warning to all mankind to mend their ways lest similar misfortunes descend upon others as well?

No one has a better answer to these questions than has the prophet Jeremiah.[10] Hear his anguish over the ruins of Jerusalem. "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" he asks. "Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, . . . wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day of His fierce anger."[11]

Whether we choose to have it so or not, the capture and ruin of ancient Jerusalem is something to us. It is a call to repentance. And by the same token, the havoc wrought upon modern Germany also is something to us, perhaps even more so.

In his endeavor to make clear the interdependence of all peoples, John Donne, an English preacher-poet of the seventeenth century, wrote:

> No man is an Iland, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the Continent, a part of the maine; if a Clod bee washed away by the Sea, Europe is the lesse, as well as if a Promontorie were, as well as if a Mannor of thy friends or of thine owne were; any mans death diminishes me,

because I am involved in Mankinde; And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee.[12]

"Never send to know for whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee"! These are haunting words. They may have a far-reaching significance for nations today, as well as for individuals.

During the holocaust of World War II the bells tolled for millions of German youth and for multiplied millions of the flower of other nations. What means this requiem for the dead, accompanied by the strange *Götterdämmerung* of the German pantheon? What has been accomplished by this sacrifice of treasure and of blood? Has it not once more served notice on mankind that a nation can neither live unto itself nor die unto itself, and that only a living faith in the Fatherhood of God can bring hope to the brotherhood of man?

If those in Germany who were misled by the Fuehrerhood of Hitler and the falsehood of Aryan gods, will again adopt the concept of human greatness as taught by Luther; if they will again accept the teachings of the meek and lowly Galilean as revealed in God's Blessed Book, a new spirit will energize the people. The much-desired re-education and rehabilitation of that unfortunate land will be enhanced and the cause of world peace immeasurably advanced.

~ 3 ~

The Captivity of Berlin and the Condition of German Protestantism

MOST Americans would find it difficult to imagine themselves living in a city which had once been the pride of their nation, and now had become the world's largest poorhouse; a city where, for a time, everything had to be brought in by airlift; where lights were restricted, even to the rationing of candles; where a winter's supply of coal was limited to about half a ton for a family of five; where no pleasure trips were possible by auto, and trips of urgency were restricted; where citizens were constantly threatened with arrest if they were to go beyond prescribed boundaries; a city that has not yet recovered from the rubble and ashes of one devastating war while being threatened by another; a city that once aspired to rule the world, but which is now a battered captive, divided and quarreled over by its conquerors. No American city meets a description like this; but Americans do have a hand in one that does. Berlin is one of America's chief problems abroad.

The real tug of war over Berlin began in 1944, when the European Advisory Commission in London divided Germany into occupation zones and proposed that Berlin become a four-power island in the middle of the Soviet zone.

Subsequently the Western powers were elbowed out of a corridor between their zone in Germany and their sector in

Berlin. Hence they could reach their sector in Berlin only through Russia's zone, which, of course, the Russians could close down at will—and did, as will be shown farther on in this chapter.

Three months before the German surrender, the agreement made earlier in London was approved by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Generalissimo Stalin at Yalta. At that time victory was in the air. Soviet armies were advancing from the east, and the Western powers were smashing into Hitler's fortress from the west. Russia, the United States, and Britain were grimly united in the common aim of humiliating the Nazi leaders, of stripping the country of all industries which might be used to build another war machine, and of securing the payment of large reparations.

At a time when the situation of the attacking troops was still precarious it seemed simple enough to suggest that Germany's war plants be dismantled and the German people be taught the peaceful pursuits of agriculture in harmony with the Morgenthau Plan.

In July and August, 1945, almost three months after the German surrender, President Truman, Prime Minister Atlee, and Generalissimo Stalin met at Potsdam and agreed to treat all of Germany as an economic unit; that is, there were to be no barriers that would obstruct communications and the flow of goods from one area to another.

However, the absence of any such agreement during the first three months of occupation greatly complicated the later problems of a quadripartite government, because it permitted divergent trends and policies to become established in the various zones.

From the beginning, each victor attempted to reconstruct his assigned part of Germany in a way pleasing to himself. Naturally, any attempt to arrive at an understanding in such a situation would present difficulties. Further complications arose in this case because of the fact that of the original representatives of the Big Three, only Stalin remained. Roosevelt had died, and Churchill had been supplanted, in the middle of the conference, by Atlee. The new leaders of Britain and America found it somewhat difficult to follow up the commitments of their predecessors, and especially did they find it difficult to deal with the purposeful determination of Stalin.[1]

The Russians wanted headquarters in Berlin. In the age-old struggle between Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism the Russians had once invaded Berlin, in 1760, only to be subsequently outwitted. Now they saw another chance to control the city.

Berlin, moreover, was the old German capital. Everything German had centered there, including Hitler. But, above all, the Russians wanted Berlin because it was located within the zone assigned to them.

At first the Americans were opposed, but the Russians persisted, and Berlin became, as it were, a four-power island within a Soviet sea, soon to be proclaimed a Soviet *mare clausum*.

Realists in the American Department of State were uneasy over so vulnerable an arrangement. They had the foresight to insist that specific and ironclad agreements should be drawn up providing means for getting into and out of the city. However, the more conciliatory Americans said it was of greater importance to show good will to the Soviets than to haggle over specific agreements. This appeasing view won, and the Americans permitted themselves to be placed in a position from which they might easily be crowded out.

Generosity toward the Russians went so far as to accord them the privilege of entering Berlin first, so that they had the opportunity of installing Soviet authority over the entire municipality before the Western Allies got there.

To be sure, the right of the Western powers to be in Berlin was clearly established by dividing the city among the victors, with authority centered in a military council (*Kommandantur*) in which all four occupying powers were represented. The division and control of Berlin itself was patterned after the division and control of all of Germany under the condominial Allied Control Council.

The all-important question of determining how the Western powers were to get into and out of Berlin was left indefinite. The Russians assigned for this purpose the use of one railroad and a part of Hitler's six-lane highway (*Autobahn*) between Berlin and Helmstedt, a city located on the western border of the Soviet zone. Agreements as to the number of trains and trucks to be moved daily were not as precise as they should have been. Neither was the problem relating to air traffic clearly stated. Much was left to the presumed good will of Russia as an ally in arms.

One thing, however, was made crystal clear: The Western Allies were to be responsible for feeding and supplying the two and a half million people in their sector of the city.

From the very start the *mare clausum* idea asserted itself. By word and deed the Russians showed that they felt they had special rights over all Berlin. They attempted, for instance, to keep in office a Soviet-sponsored municipal government for the entire city, and tried to control the entire police force in all four sectors. To such tactics the Westerners naturally took exception.

After a brief honeymoon, the era of good will ran out. Besides disagreeing on the control of Berlin itself, the Allies also were at odds as to the basis on which postwar Germany should be reconstructed, and other East-West conflicts cropped up around the world.

Berlin soon became an arena of inter-Allied rivalry; and all inter-Allied relationships in this fateful city were distorted by the wider East-West struggle between two giants in this One World. Berlin was not only at the core of the problem of a European settlement, but it was also at the core of the problems between the United States and Russia.

Meanwhile, the Marshall Plan (E.R.P.) came to the aid of some sixteen European countries, ultimately including Western Germany. The Russians did not like the plan, with the result that the Allied Control Council in Berlin began to bog down with Soviet vetoes until it was virtually defunct.

Then the Western countries met and set up a separate government for Western Germany on the assumption that a unified government on a four-power basis was impossible. They inaugurated currency reforms and issued a new mark (Western mark) to take the place of the worthless German marks and the cigarettes that had been used for money since the end of the war. Some of this reformed currency was stamped with a large "B" and began to circulate in Berlin, which fact also the Russians did not like. Even less did they like the announced intention of the Westerners to let the Germans in the Western zones write a constitution for all of Western Germany. That, they feared, might defeat their own plans for a Communist Germany.

The Russians reasoned that Berlin was the weak spot in the armor of the West. If they could strangle Berlin and force the Westerners out they would gain considerable prestige among the Germans, and, indeed, in all of Europe. They could then set up a central government in Berlin, the old capital of Prussia and of Germany; and that, they thought, would appeal to most Germans.

The Russians apparently won a score in their favor in December, 1948, when they secured the election of Friedrich Ebert, son of the first president of the Weimar Republic, as Communist mayor of Berlin. General Lucius Clay, the military commander of the American zone, announced that the younger Ebert was untrue to the democratic ideals of his father.

Communist control of Germany might result, the Soviets hoped, in Communist control over all Europe. These were high stakes, and the Russians proceeded cautiously. At first they demanded the right to inspect American and British military trains. The West refused, and military trains stopped running.

A few weeks later, no freight train of any kind was allowed to leave Berlin for the west unless it had a license. Then came a series of endless train inspections. The Westerners expressed disapproval, but the problem remained.

Then came the Soviet currency reform, which only widened the breach in East-West relations. The Russians insisted on the acceptance of the Soviet zone mark (ruble mark) as the sole currency for all of Berlin. To this the Westerners reluctantly agreed, but only if the printing and distribution of the Soviet mark were controlled by all four powers. This precaution was necessary, the Westerners maintained, to prevent the Russians from flooding Berlin with uncontrolled paper money and to keep them from buying up enterprises in Western Berlin. Such procedures could conceivably wreck the economic life of the city, especially the Western sector. The Russians replied that they were quite capable of printing their own rubles in their own way. Furthermore, the Russians declared flatly that the Western Allies had completely forfeited whatever legal right they once had had to share in the control of Berlin when they set up a separate Western government, inaugurated a separate currency reform,—even circulating their new currency in Berlin,—and, especially, when they enlisted German constitution makers at Bonn to fashion a charter for a new West Germany.

From the Soviet point of view these were serious matters. How could the Westerners, the Russians asked, set up a new government at Frankfurt, covering three of the four parts of Germany, and still expect to share in the four-power control of all Germany from Berlin? To clinch their argument they frankly stated that since Berlin lay in the center of the Soviet zone to begin with, that city therefore was an integral part of their zone, and Russia should have absolute control.

Amidst such wranglings the Russians finally suspended all railroad passenger and freight traffic into Berlin, along with all barge traffic, on the plea of technical difficulties. The automobile highway from the west was ordered closed for repairs. A creeping paralysis set in over the Western sector. The Berliners were cut off from food supplies, and they faced the prospect of slow starvation and, worse still, the prospect of becoming the first victims in a war that would be no longer cold.

The idea of supplying two and a half million people with cargoes of flour, milk, and coal by means of air shuttles

(*Luftbrücken*, "air bridges"), to be set up from Frankfurt and Hamburg, at first seemed fantastic. But the problem, as the Westerners saw it, was clear-cut and had to be met: Either abandon Berlin to the Russians, or hang on.

To abandon the city would doom tens of thousands of anti-Communist Berliners to Siberia, and would lead millions of other Germans to think that the United States was forsaking Europe, leaving the Continent to a Communist deluge.

The decision, therefore, was made to hang on—and the greatest airlift of history began, ultimately flying about 4,500 tons of goods into Western Berlin daily, at an estimated cost of one hundred dollars a ton—nearly half a million dollars a day, or fifteen million a month. The soviet blockade of Berlin was countered by every cargo-carrying plane that the Westerners could mobilize. It was a Rolls Royce delivery to the world's greatest poorhouse.

There appeared to be no other alternative, because, for the first time since the days of Napoleon, there remained no power in all Europe which unaided could hold back the Slavic pressure westward (*Drang nach Westen*). That unenviable job had fallen squarely upon the ample shoulders of Uncle Sam.

But by no means were all inter-Allied troubles limited to Berlin. There was considerable rivalry among the victors over other parts of the prostrate and dismembered body of Germany.

According to agreement, Germany was to have been divided into four parts, but it was actually cut into six. One piece was annexed outright by Russia. A much larger and more important part was annexed by Poland. The remaining area, lying roughly between the Oder River and the old western frontier, was cut into four separate zones of occupation, with France eager to acquire the industrial Ruhr Valley in western Germany, thus following the example of Poland and Russia, who had succeeded in grabbing choice portions of eastern Germany.

As a result of these various partitions, the economic life of postwar Germany became paralyzed. The parts annexed by Russia and Poland, as well as the Soviet zone, were used to produce reparations for Poland and the Soviet Union. The French zone was similarly milked by France. The requital was both sweet and bitter.

The British and American zones were united into Bizonia. Attempts were made to include the French zone into a well-co-ordinated Trizonia, but such moves stalled over disagreements with reference to the Ruhr, which had served as Germany's main arsenal during two world wars. The French wanted the Ruhr under their own control in order to keep the unregenerate *Boche* in check, while the British-American group wanted it to become an integral part of a revived Western Germany to restrain Communism. In short, the Western powers who fought as one to take Germany apart became divided on putting her together.

The weariness over the interminable German problem was reflected by the following morose lines composed by a British wit:

> Trizonial fusion is mere delusion,
> But Bizonia is even phonier.

Meanwhile, however, Bizonia continued as the recipient of subsidies totaling upward of a half billion dollars a year, paid out of the pockets of British and American taxpayers—the Americans paying the larger share.

Between the Anglo-American and the French areas there was little exchange of food, raw materials, or manufactured goods. Political and economic issues divided them as clearly as did the Rhine. Between the Western zones and Eastern Germany there was even less. Not even a free exchange of information was possible. Instead, the Soviets blocked contacts with the West and pulled a curtain of secrecy around their zone, at the same time maintaining passages without number in the direction of the Soviet Union for the transportation of plunder from the dismantled factories of Germany.

These obstacles could be overcome only with powerful radio broadcasting facilities, and with C-54's—one of which landed approximately every three minutes at Tempelhof and other air-bases in the Western sector of Berlin.

These conditions were made all the more trying by reason of the fact that humanity in Germany had been literally uprooted and dangerously depleted. Even during the war Germany resembled a stirred-up anthill, as, one by one, her cities were destroyed from the air. Some people were moved by the authorities; others fled for safety.

As the air war hit the western cities the flight, at first, was from the west to the east. Later, in order to escape the slaughter, rape, and fire of the Russians, the flight was from the east to the west. After the armistice additional millions of people were expelled from the eastern regions. Thus postwar Germany was largely a nation of refugees and expellees, with women, children, and aged persons predominating.

Particularly was the country drained of men with technical and scientific know-how. No loot was more eagerly snatched up *and held* by the Russians and the Western Allies than men with special skills and knowledge, notably scientists, engineers, and technicians.[2]

As a result of this economic and social upheaval, consumers' goods became practically unobtainable. Furniture, clothing, household utensils, and the simplest hand tools were not to be found anywhere, except on the black market. For a time, cigarettes were the accepted medium of exchange, since the German currency was inflated and essentially worthless.

Because of the lack of building materials scarcely any new houses could be built. People lived in cellars and windowless hovels erected amidst the ghostly ruins and rubble of their once-proud cities.

The housing conditions became more serious when millions of Germans were expelled from the lands annexed by Poland and Russia—refugees, who had nowhere to go except to the already overcrowded dwellings in the remainder of Germany. The country which formerly served as the hub of European economy became a social Babel and an economic desert.

The occupying powers, moreover, set out to disarm and denazify Germany. No German, for example, was allowed to possess firearms of any kind, not even for shooting rabbits. German ships were banned from the seas and German planes from the skies.

Denazification was an effort to separate the sheep from the goats, with the idea of eliminating the goats from positions of political, educational, and economic responsibilities. Under the various military governments the process was slow, spotty, and somewhat uncertain.

A great deal of time was spent determining degrees of guilt by means of questionnaires (*Fragebogen*). The findings were unsatisfactory, for few Germans were willing to risk the displeasure of their conquerors by writing down all the truth.

The baffling fact was that shortly after Hitler and his bride committed suicide, not many out-and-out Nazis were to be found among the Germans. An astonishingly large number had been against the barbaric regime to begin with, they said; consequently the denazifiers found it difficult to arrive at a just sentence in all cases. The over-all effect was that leadership in postwar Germany was somewhat uncertain, despite attempts at careful screening.

For Americans the situation is reminiscent of the problems which resulted from the policies the victorious North imposed upon the South during the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. Many of those best able to lead the South had been disqualified. This circumstance, in addition to the ruins of a defeat, was a bitter pill for Southerners to swallow. We can hardly expect Germans to be more amenable to defeat than were our own Southerners, for all men are created human.

The bitter lesson the Germans needed to learn was that they were not created supermen, but that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of peace.

The conquerors found it difficult to deflate the power concept among their captives while they themselves were engaged in playing power politics. And they found it difficult to teach democracy to a starving and bankrupt people while they themselves failed to reach an agreement on the kind of democracy they wished Germans to adopt.

To be sure, the Russian blockade of Berlin which went into effect June 26, 1948, was finally lifted May 14, 1949, whereupon there followed a lessening of the thundering stream of planes which had kept more than two million Berliners supplied with food and raw materials for nearly a year.

That the airlift would prove expensive, and that it would probably cost some lives as well, was understood at the very outset. Seventy airmen—thirty-one Americans and thirty-nine Britons—were killed, besides seven German civilians who lost their lives in plane accidents. The monetary outlay for the United States alone approximated $165,000,000, while the British estimated their cost at the equivalent of $34,000,000.

This weapon of the West surprised the Russians and heartened the Germans. It helped to melt a few of the icicles of the cold war. The Germans dedicated the square in front of the air base with a new name: *Platz der Luftbrücke* (Place of the Air Bridge). German boys and girls, incidentally, were treated with American generosity by having candy rained upon them by Yankee airmen.

In August, 1949, the new West German Republic went into operation at Bonn, with Theodor Heuss as first president and Konrad Adenauer as chancellor. Thereupon military government in that area came to an end. Under the occupation statute, which gave the West Germans far greater powers of self-rule than at any time since the war, the Department of State of the United States, instead of the Army, began to administer American interests in Germany. Similar measures were taken by Britain and France in their respective zones. Thus, after an interval of sixteen stressful years, parliamentary government was revived in Germany. Bonn took up where Weimar had left off.

Western Germany's new *Bundestag* (popular representative council) celebrated the inauguration of the federal republic by issuing ten million commemorative stamps and stamped postal cards, to enable the public to proclaim its freedom to the world from the last rigorous military control. These stamps showed builders reroofing bombed-out homes, and bore the inscription, "Federal Republic of Germany—First Day of the People's Assembly, 1949." This reflected a rise of nationalism which would tend to serve as an antidote to rising Communism in Eastern Germany.

In popular elections the Social Democratic party was defeated, as was the Socialist Unity (Communist) Party, while the Christian Democratic Union, a revival of the old Center Party, rolled up mounting leads. While this party claimed to represent a co-operative effort of both Catholics and Protestants to preserve the Christian West, it was vehemently denounced by the Socialists as a tool of the church to dominate political affairs.

The currency devaluation begun by Britain in September of 1949 and followed by more than twenty other nations, had its effect on West German economy, and it caused additional headaches for the new government. A reduction of the dollar value of the westmark was thought necessary in order to bring it closer to both its own real value and also to the value of the Soviet-sponsored mark.

On October 7, 1949, the Russians hit back at the West German Republic at Bonn on the Rhine by creating a government of their own in the ruins of Hitler's Nazi headquarters in East Berlin. A twenty-point manifesto was adopted, obviously linking German territory east of the Elbe River with Moscow and the Cominform satellite states. A constitution of pointed Communist doctrine was declared in force.

On October 11 the aging Wilhelm Pieck, who holds a colonel's rank in the Soviet army, was sworn in as president of a new German Communistic republic. This put the new state into business without the formality of popular elections as an active opponent of the elected West German Republic at Bonn. The fireworks and searchlights during the ceremony played on the darkening scene, lighting up bombed ruins with weird effects and ominous portents.

Thus the German split had been made official. With the approach of the winter of 1949-50 the cold war became colder yet, because of increasingly strained relations between the East and the West and because of the methods which all sides continued to employ.

Not only Berliners, but other Germans as well, entertained feelings of disillusionment, frustration, and resentment, resulting from unemployment, overcrowded conditions, hunger, the dismantling of factories, and the seeming contradiction between democracy as preached and that as practiced by the occupying powers. To the subdued Aryans, inconsistencies were apparent, especially in cases where heavy-machinery plants were dismantled by the British or French, for illustration, and were then rebuilt with American money, because such rebuilding was thought essential to German economy.

The Postwar Conditions of German Protestantism

In short, the five-year record of occupation policies which followed the surrender of the Nazi forces in May, 1945, revealed five negatives. They were: dismantling, demilitarization, denazification, deconcentration, and deportation. To be sure, another "de" word of a different character was also emphasized,—"democracy,"—somewhat falteringly, though.

By degrees, the Morgenthau Plan to impose a kind of Old Testament vengeance on the vanquished Germans to the third and fourth generation was abandoned. In its place, ironically, a struggle for German affections was waged between the conquerors. While the Russians rearmed Eastern Germany under the guise of a *Volkspolizei* (People's Police) the Western powers also pondered the advisability of putting the Germans into uniform again. Meanwhile, the Russians maintained their stranglehold on Berlin.

While these considerations of economic, political, and social factors are helpful in understanding the material problems of a dismembered Germany, the bearing these conditions have upon religion generally, and upon Protestantism in particular, should not be overlooked.

Unfortunately, the popular concept of German Protestantism today appears to begin and end with Pastor Martin Niemoeller, even as, in the opinion of many, basic Protestantism seems to have begun and ended with Martin Luther.

All honor to the memory of a man like Luther who more than four hundred years ago fearlessly confronted the totalitarian and authoritarian church-state powers and in defense of his newly found faith resolutely affirmed, "Here I take my stand, I cannot do otherwise. God be my help! Amen." And full credit to the namesake of the sixteenth-century Reformer who, in the dark days of Nazidom, voiced anew the spirit of Luther with commendable boldness, saying, "Not you, Herr Hitler, but God is my Fuehrer!"[3]—and then paid for his heroism with eight years of imprisonment. Even Patrick Henry could not have said or done it better.

But there is much more to Protestantism than the epic words of its leaders. There is in it a power of the Spirit which imbues plain men with power while it makes great men humble. In men's lives it becomes a national "bulwark never failing." Recognition of this fact was expressed by Albert Einstein. When every other agency in Germany failed to stand up against Nazism, "only the church stood squarely across the path of Hitler's campaign for suppressing truth,"[4] said this scientist, who until then had held himself aloof from religion.

The extraordinary struggle of the Confessional Church to maintain its identity amidst rampant Nazism will be treated in chapter 7. Here an effort will be made to describe the conditions of German Protestantism since the close of World War II.

It may first be observed that during the years of triumphant Nazism, Protestantism in Europe was greatly shaken. Even Martin Niemoeller, who in his public ministry refused to put the will of the Fuehrer above the will of God, wavered during the last four years of his imprisonment at Dachau when he became physically weakened and lived with four Catholic priests as his only companions.

Illustrative of the extent to which Nazism took hold among some religionists is the fact that the postwar attempt to revive the world-famed Oberammergau Passion Play ran into difficulties. Leading actors like Alois Lang (the Christus), Anni Rutz (the Virgin Mary), and Willy Bierling (St. John) were refused permission by the American Military Government to play their respective roles because they had been active members of the Nazi Party.[5] Only one leading character had been a regular member of the anti-Nazi movement, and was thus qualified to go on the stage. He was Hans Zwinck, whose role, ironically enough, was Judas.

The poison of Hitlerism had flowed from the fortress of Germany into many of the occupied countries. Church leaders in Holland, Denmark, Norway, and France were in ardent opposition to Hitler's policy of co-ordinating the church. Eivind Berggrav, bishop of Oslo, for illustration, stood out as one of the strongest bulwarks of organized religion against Nazi paganism. Thrown into jail by the Quisling government, he spent his time translating the New Testament into Norwegian.

As soon as possible after the collapse of the Third Reich the leaders of German Protestantism met for counsel and reorganization. The first meeting took place in August, 1945, at Treysa, where the Reformed and Lutheran elements joined to organize the German Evangelical Church (*Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland,* E.K.I.D.). A special effort was made to put the leadership of German Protestantism into the hands of men who had taken a clear stand with regard to National Socialism. Bishop Theophilus Wurm was chosen president, and Pastor Martin Niemoeller vice-president. Both of these leaders heartily endorsed a free church without ties to the political state; but such a radical departure from traditional German practice would have involved many difficult problems.

In January, 1949, Bishop Wurm retired as head of the E.K.I.D., and Bishop Otto Dibelius, of Berlin-Brandenburg, was chosen as his successor. Bishop Dibelius was also a stanch foe of Nazism—and no friend of Communism.

The E.K.I.D. was similar to the church federation (*Kirchenbund*) which had been effected during the period of the Weimar Republic, after World War I. It was in greater accord with democratic principles than was the strongly centralized church organization of the Hitlerian regime, which provided for a Reich bishop and which had supplanted the Weimar church organization.

The organization of German Protestantism had changed three times since 1918: first, from the Hohenzollern arrangement to that of the Weimar Republic; second, from the Weimar arrangement to that of the Third Reich (Nazis); and third, from the Third Reich arrangement to that of the military occupation.

One of the primary goals of the military government in the United States zone was the full restoration of freedom of religious belief and worship, which had been impaired under the Nazi regime. Accordingly, in March, 1947, the Allied Control Authority abolished the Nazi law concerning the Evangelical Constitution of 1933, which had created the office of Reich bishop. The problem of revising or replacing the constitution was left to the church itself.

In February, 1948, this same body enacted law No. 62, which eliminated the basic church laws of Nazi origin as well. The nature of these Nazi church laws, ordinances, and decrees will be treated in chapter 7.[6]

The question of religious education in publicly supported elementary and secondary schools became an issue after World War II, as it also had after World War I. The Soviets held that religious instruction should be banned from the regular school curriculum, while the Western powers were more favorable to the traditional German plan of teaching religion in the public schools.

Financial problems, too, were distressing. This was particularly the case in Berlin, where churches had been cut off from their accustomed government support ever since the German capitulation.[7] Although some of the church leaders proposed a thoroughgoing reform in the traditional church-state financial relationships, not much progress was made in that direction, except in the Soviet zone, where separation of church and state automatically went into effect.

There was also a serious shortage of paper for the publication of religious literature, a difficulty which was partially relieved through assistance from religious organizations abroad. The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Germany, for example, received a gift of three hundred tons of paper from its parent organization in Washington, D. C. Similar arrangements were effected by other religious groups.

After the war there was considerable religious indifference among the youth. Thirty years previously boys and girls had had to learn by heart the entire Lutheran catechism and a large number of Biblical passages and church hymns. The excessively patriotic generation of the Hitler Youth tended to lose contact with such influences, and the collapse of the Reich made them feel that life had lost its meaning.

Despite these handicaps and the additional troubles which arose from the destruction of church buildings and the lack of adequate church leadership, German Protestantism still showed itself sufficiently strong to begin the work of recovery.

One of the contributing factors in bringing about renewed interest in the things of the Spirit was the provision whereby church representatives from abroad could enter Germany to lend spiritual and material support to their coreligionists there. Subsequently, German church leaders were also given permission to go abroad.

The result was that the disjointed pieces which made up the puzzle of Germany were again being brought together in brotherhood groups, and the church came to be the one voice of Germany that could be heard in the world.

One of the reassuring messages which the world heard was the Stuttgart Declaration, issued in October, 1945. In the presence of church representatives from other countries the German church leaders submitted a memorandum in which they acknowledged their guilt for not having witnessed more courageously and for not having prayed more faithfully while they struggled against the spirit which found its terrible expression in the National Socialist regime. This statement was signed by many stanch churchmen, including Wurm, Niemoeller, Dibelius, and Meiser.[8]

Here is something extraordinarily rare and reassuring in church leadership—a laying of the ax to the place where it hurt most and yet did the most good. While others were blaming the iniquities of the Nazi regime on the party, the Gestapo, or the army, these church leaders looked deeper, and what they saw led them to say, in effect, "Others may blame whom they will, but we blame ourselves. We are guilty." They looked sincerely and realistically at the situation.

The fact that the most active fighters in the Confessional Church acknowledged the guilt of their nation and felt most deeply the inadequacy of their witness gave this declaration a stamp of sincerity and paved the way for a fuller confidence between the German church and the churches of other countries.

These German church leaders, however, were subjected to considerable criticism by many of their countrymen for having presumed to speak in the name of the entire German nation. It was especially feared that such admissions of guilt would only give encouragement to overt acts on the part of occupying armies and make reconciliation with other countries more difficult.

But church leaders like Niemoeller maintained stoutly that even in the church it was not yet sufficiently understood that the scourge of Hitler had been a visitation from God. It was not enough, he said, merely to blame the Nazis. The church also had to confess its guilt. "Would the Nazis," he asked, "have been able to do what they had done if church members had been wholly faithful?"

Toward the end of 1946 the World Council of Churches arranged for Pastor Niemoeller and his wife to visit the United States.[9]

Without a trace of bitterness evident in his voice the former church prisoner spoke of no other subject more earnestly than of Jesus Christ and Him crucified. He conveyed his message with the conviction of a Hebrew prophet and a stanch advocate of democracy. He pointed out that spiritual things must be spiritually discerned and spiritually accomplished, "for," said he, "there is a power in unselfish love and meekness that cannot be taken away."

The German pastor was chary regarding the place of political parties within the church. Although sympathetic to the aims of a party like the Christian Democratic Union, he held that it was better for a preacher not to join any party. While admitting that the church cannot be limited to a ghetto, he contended that Christianity should influence public life by converting men through the power of the gospel and not by the use of police methods.

In dwelling on the tremendous problems the Germans face in rebuilding their country so that they may regain the respect and confidence of other nations and be restored to ecumenical relationship, Niemoeller said, "There are still some good people left in Germany. It is upon them that we must depend for the rebuilding. Please help us."

Pastor Niemoeller was criticized by many Americans for alleged inconsistencies in his ministry, and he was now accused of trying to win an easy peace for his country.

It would indeed seem easy for many who had never seen death and destruction at close hand and who had never gone hungry for a single day—much less spent eight years in uncertain prison life—to judge those things of which they knew little or nothing.[10]

Few people in America are aware of the devastating effect the Yalta and Potsdam agreements had, not only on German Protestantism, but also on world Protestantism. The American armies which had penetrated as far as Prague were compelled to withdraw, yielding large areas of eastern Germany to the Russians. The armies which were ready to occupy Berlin were delayed at the Elbe until the Russians were able to break down military resistance and occupy the greater part of Prussia, including Berlin.

In this eastern area is located the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, the largest of the twenty-eight evangelical territorial churches (*Landeskirchen*) into which German Protestantism was divided, and one of the largest Protestant church bodies in the world, with about twenty million members.

Long before the days of the Reformation the ancestors of these Germans had settled and cultivated what was then woodland swamps and dusty plains, ultimately making of the area some of the best agricultural land in Germany. About half of the people had embraced the gospel as preached by the Reformers, and in the days of the Counter Reformation they made a valiant stand for their faith.

Unlike some of the Protestant churches in central Germany, which in the course of centuries had slipped into spiritual lethargy, these eastern churches had been the center of some of the most robust supporters of German Protestantism.

Suddenly, however, these millions of Protestants were uprooted and scattered. Many were stuffed into the overcrowded industrial west, where everyone was supposed to become pastoral, even though the best agricultural lands had been bartered away. Their denominational organizations were dissolved and their normal church life disrupted. This probably is one of the hardest blows world Protestantism has suffered since the days of the Reformation.

Since 1945 eastern Germany and the eastern part of Central Europe have become the domain of Polish Catholics and Russian Communists. Berlin is the one exception.

Withdrawal by the Western forces from that city would signalize an attempt at complete Sovietization of all Germany to the Elbe River. This, in turn, would mean further hazards for church life and what we call "Christian culture," not only in Germany, but in all Europe.

Already, upwards of six million Germans have disappeared, presumably into Siberia. Thus the former *Herrenvolk* have paid eye for eye and tooth for tooth for their credulity in the "new savior," who led them from *Lebensraum* into *Sterbensraum.*

However, against this dark background of misery, destitution, and despair may be accomplished one of the most glorious feats of Protestantism. While the hoped-for religious revival has not yet taken hold of Germany in breadth, there are definite signs of a new spirituality in depth. By degrees the disillusioned are becoming more receptive of the mercies of our one and only Saviour. The impressive breakdown of the Nazi rule and the worsening of general conditions have destroyed the haughty attitude toward Biblical prophecies, and have engendered a certain awe.

Already refugee pastors in refugee camps have been at work organizing these camps into congregations and proclaiming the refuge and strength of the gospel. A youth-for-Christ movement is making itself felt, especially in Free Church circles.

Many brave souls are witnessing under conditions that appear almost too hard to bear. How to declare the love of our heavenly Father to these millions, many of whom, through no fault of their own, have lost home, property, and security, poses a heart-rending problem for emaciated and tired church workers.

And when this material loss is attended by unbelief, cynicism, and nihilism, so that people die cursing God and man, the difficulties appear insurmountable.

But man's extremity has always been God's opportunity. Poverty-stricken refugees have learned again what it means to place their trust in God alone, no longer relying on material resources or on the wisdom and power of men.

~4~

The Ideology of the Nazi Regime[1] (Naziology)

FOR many American ears "ideology" is a word without definite meaning. As used here, perhaps the term "Naziology" would be more to the point. Under Hitler it was something converted into power which gave rise to the efficient and appalling realities known as the Third Reich!

It is well that such forces be understood, for both the good and the evil that ideologies do, live after them. Although Hitler's heaven-on-earth for a community of supermen has gone to pieces, the United States has taken over one of those pieces and has the responsibility of selling to the Germans the cardinal tenet of democratic ideology that the individual is the most precious thing on earth, and not a community-conceived, materialistic Utopia, be it Nazi or Communist.

Generally speaking, the term "ideology" may be defined as the science that treats of the evolution of human ideas. More specifically, it may be regarded as constituting those psychological forces, political concepts, and spiritual ideals that men live by and die for. It is closely related to the term *Weltanschauung,* which, according to Webster, refers to man's attitude to the surrounding world and his explanation of the purpose of the world as a whole.

National Socialism was the final blossoming of a long evolution of Germanic attitudes, feelings, and ideas. Its ideological forces were deeply rooted in the nation's past. They were typical of the whole list of German characteristics—their easy courtesy and Teutonic fury, their thoroughness, and their feelings of comradeship and love of country.

These elements were uniquely incorporated into a synthesis of nationalism, socialism, and Aryanism,[2] and were given a mystical but potent expression in the ideologically conceived triad of folk, blood, and soil. The term *Volk* incorporated within itself a dynamism of blood and soil by the supposed interaction of kinsmen upon each other and upon their environment. In this manner a native fatherland culture was evolved which bound these kinsmen into a spiritually united, "folkic" community.[3]

Implicit in the Third Reich was also the idea of the Holy Roman Empire (the First Reich), which was patterned after the Iron Monarchy of the West and which existed for a thousand years. While this First Reich gradually disintegrated until Napoleon ended its tenuous existence, the idea was soon revived by a man of blood and iron, who built the Second Reich, only to have the first world war put a halt to its onward march.

But the idea remained potential and was utilized by the National Socialists in an endeavor to build another thousand-year Reich (the Third Reich), even greater, if possible, than any of its predecessors.[4] And where Bismarck succeeded in uniting only political boundaries, Hitler succeeded in uniting both political boundaries and people to a degree unknown before in German history.

While the aggressive spirit of the Third Reich can be partially explained in terms of its ideology, it is well to remember that besides this ideology, and contributing thereto, were certain economic and political forces which in varying degrees operate among all peoples of the Western world.

The ambition for a *Deutschland über alles in der Welt* (Germany above all others in the world) had asserted itself quite some time before the National Socialists undertook their determined quest for expansion.

The tragedy of Germany is that of an aggressive and capable people hemmed in on all sides by artificially created boundaries of nearby and unfriendly neighbors. While this circumstance does not justify aggression, it helps to explain one of the reasons for it.

In emulation of nations which had come into possession of territories the world around, the Germans tried to extend their economic and political control to the seven seas, only to come into head-on collisions on every side and in each attempt.

The history of the Third Reich constitutes an extreme example of the latest of such collisions. As if trying to call forth all the accumulated ideological forces of the past thousand years, Hitler ardently sought to build another thousand-year Reich, this time with room to spare, only to have the might of that Reich go down in the second world war in the manner of a *Götterdämmerung,* in which, according to ancient mythology, fire fell from heaven, and gods and heroes passed away. The Nazi Fuehrer, however, figured as an assertive force until the very last.[5]

The Twenty-Five-Point Party Program

The chief ideological concepts of the Third Reich, as well as its main characteristics and purposes, are discernible in the twenty-five-point program of the Nazi Party.

At the very outset it must be borne in mind that on the strength of the declared program of their party the Nazis fought their way against formidable opposition for thirteen years and finally succeeded in making Hitler chancellor of the German government in January, 1933. Within six months after this achievement the N.S.D.A.P.[6] had received preferential treatment by a series of acts destroying competing political parties and culminating in a statute passed on July 14, 1933, which prohibited the formation of new parties and threatened imprisonment for any attempt to revitalize or organize any other party.[7] In this way the party came to hold a legal monopoly in the political field. Within another six months, in December, 1933, another statute brought the party into unity with the state.[8] In less than a year and a half after this a supplementary ordinance was issued by Hitler, on March 29, 1935, according to which the party became the bearer of the Germanic idea of the state and also became indissolubly united with the state.[9]

It will be noticed that all these statutes emphasized the importance of the Nazi Party to the point where ultimately that party took precedence over the state, making the state merely a tool of the National Socialist philosophy of life.[10]

If the party itself, then, served such an important function in the Third Reich, one may have reasonable assurance that the basic ideological concepts of this Reich can be found in the early history of the party, especially as revealed in its declared program.

This program was announced by Hitler himself as early as February 25, 1920, in a large mass meeting held in Munich. It had been drawn up by Gottfried Feder,[11] an engineer and one of the first half dozen of Hitler's colleagues. Doubtless this was one of the most fateful platforms ever adopted by a political party in Germany. (The German wording of this twenty-five-point program, with a parallel English translation, is given in Appendix 1.)

Although the party leaders became united in their determination that this program should stand unchangeable, Feder made the explanation that this did not mean that every word had to remain as given, nor did it mean that efforts in deepening and extending the program were forbidden; but it did mean with all resoluteness and unchangeable clearness that the fundamental points and basic ideas were not to be altered.[12]

In harmony with this provision, this outline of party policy was soon expanded politically into Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* and given philosophical undergirding by Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts.* These two documents, along with the twenty-five-point program, became the chief basis of one of the most revolutionary movements in the history of Europe.

One of the main tenets of the program is the concept of a closely knit folkic-community relationship. This embraces a united and exclusive racial group intent upon promoting the common welfare of the group on the basis of a determined and authoritative leadership which would give expression and direction to the common will.

This emphasis upon a closely unified community was intended to serve as a remedy for the confusion and disintegration caused by the allegedly corrupt individualist theory of the Weimar Republic. "Individual interest will not save our nation," wrote Feder. "Instead, general welfare before individual welfare must be the basic idea of this program, which is dedicated to the colossal task of setting a disjointed world in order again."[13]

To understand the ideology which this twenty-five-point program contributed to the Third Reich, one must think of the humiliation and confusion, along with the financial distress and moral stigma, which prostrated Germany as a result of having lost the war in 1918. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, earnest moves for recovery seemed futile. Moreover, the Weimar Republic was regarded as helpless in dealing with political disorders and economic sufferings among a people not accustomed to democratic procedures.

After having established himself as Fuehrer of a new order, Hitler summarized his party's program as follows:

> And then as an unknown soldier of the World War, I took up my position. It was a very short and simple program: removal of the domestic enemies of the nation, putting an end to the disunion of Germany, unification of the whole national strength of our people in a new community, and the breaking in pieces by one means or another of the peace treaty. For so long as this *Diktat* of Versailles lay heavy upon the German people it was, in fact, doomed to perish.[14]

The idea of announcing well-timed programs with specific objectives appears to be characteristic of revolutionary movements in modern times. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, the six demands of the Chartist movement, and the Communist Manifesto, are well-known historical examples. At times programs like these become cherished shibboleths and continue as ideological forces even though certain points have ceased to be of practical use. It is in some such sense as this that the twenty-five-point program of the N.S.D.A.P. may be analyzed.

Points 1-3 expressed the fundamental and historic aspiration of Germany for the union of all Germans and the need of room for expansion. Every people in its development is dependent on space. Only sufficiently large space guarantees a people the freedom of its existence. A thousand-year struggle over boundary conflicts had only been made increasingly acute for Germany by the Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain. *Anschluss* (union) with Austria had been expressly forbidden, and other territorial and colonial aspirations had been curbed.

Even more objectionable from an ideological point of view was the so-called "guilt clause," which singled out Germany as having been responsible for the war. Abolition of such offensive dicta was deemed an indispensable prerequisite to the restoration of German security, hope, and honor.

Points 4-10 were predicated on the National Socialist concept that a true nation is a unified blood relationship, a biological communion. It is this blood communion of similar peoples that makes for real greatness. While a corollary of this concept called for discriminatory measures against the supposedly alien and divisive influences of the Jews, it also emphasized the rights and duties of bona fide, blood-qualifying citizens, whose individual interests and activities, however, must never clash with the general welfare of the community. These points ruled out controversial parliamentarianism in which competing political parties, representing diverse social and economic interests, contend for supremacy and thus tend toward division.

Points 11-18 virtually constituted an emancipation proclamation from the thralldom of interest slavery and unjust profits. Economic and social conditions were to be ordered for the benefit of a healthy middle class; and those whose activities were injurious to public interest were to be ruthlessly punished, even with death. Point 17, calling for confiscation without compensation of land for public purposes, created considerable misgivings. Hence, Hitler later added an official correction stating that, since the party believed in private property, this law could refer only to that land acquired in unlawful ways by Jewish speculators. This proviso foreshadowed the subsequent expropriation of property owned by Jews or political enemies.[15]

Point 19 suggested probably the most important ideological concept of all. It called for the substitution of German common law for the materialistic, cosmopolitan Roman law. According to National Socialist theory, law is derived from the community life of a people having common blood and a common ancestry. In origin, substance, and content, law therefore is folkic in nature. The Roman law, being cosmopolitan in nature, was thus alien to German common law. Furthermore, the so-called materialistic concept of liberalism which was derived from Roman law was also out of harmony with the National Socialist concept of the oneness of a people, because it recognized the singular, the individual, and his freedom. National Socialism, then, sought a renewing of German legality; that is, a return to the German community concept of law.[16]

Points 20 and 21 laid stress on the idea of a practical education with emphasis on patriotism and good health. Hitler explained that the folkic state had to "direct its entire education primarily not at pumping in more knowledge, but at the breeding of absolutely healthy bodies."[17] It was the aim to train the Hitler Youth to be as quick as greyhounds, as tough as leather, and as hard as Krupp steel. They were to be taught the spiritual and moral ideals of National Socialism that they might be efficient in the service of the people as a whole.[18]

Underlying all education was Hitler's major premise that the individual must be rooted in the community. The highest goal of education, therefore, was to develop the child for full membership and functional participation in the folkic community, based on blood and soil.[19] To the Nazis, the individual was a myth, having no separate existence apart from the total collective personality of the people. Education could not be autonomous but could only develop in the child the potentialities of his people and his race.[20]

This kind of folkic education had little in common with the liberal and humanistic concepts of modern education. To the Nazis all ideas of calling forth the creative powers of the individual child, or of developing in him a harmonious personality, were meaningless and useless, unless such ideas were anchored to the folkic community. The inevitable result of all individualistic and liberal schooling, they maintained, was an effete intellectualism and a flabby cosmopolitanism which would ultimately lead to social chaos and political disintegration.

On the other hand, an education with a firm rootage in the soil of native culture would train the will to channelize individual energies into community service. It would produce folk-rooted, heroic personalities with the physique and character essential for leadership within the folkic community.

According to point 22, the professional army was to be abolished and a national army formed. Whether the Nazis meant by this the restoration of universal military service is not clear, but this is what happened. In addition, the National Socialist party organized an army of its own, the storm troopers (S.A.) and elite guards (S.S.). Furthermore, this point permitted the idea that the entire people made up an army safeguarding the nation against the attack of its enemies. It engendered a war psychosis.

Point 23 called for regulations to govern the press in order to make it serve prescribed ends. This mode of co-ordination was made a basic principle of party ideology and was soon extended to the radio, the movies, music, art, etc., by placing all of them under the Reich Chamber of Culture. With this arrangement the dissemination of objectionable information could readily be prevented, while government-controlled newspapers, radio, etc., could be made instruments of political and ideological propaganda.

In point 24 the party advocated religious liberty and professed the viewpoint of positive Christianity. Since the religious question will receive extended treatment in subsequent chapters, it will suffice to observe here that the original framers of this program doubtless meant that a measure of respect was due the churches. Hitler occasionally expressed his appreciation of Christianity both in his writings and in his speeches upon the platform. Nevertheless, other party leaders at times interpreted positive Christianity to mean the heroic and the courageous to the exclusion of the meek and lowly. Ultimately Christian leaders like Pastor Martin Niemoeller and Cardinal Faulhaber came to be symbols of a Christianity that was not at all positive, according to the ideology and definition of National Socialism.

The last of the twenty-five points called for the creation of a strong central authority in the Reich, with unconditional authority by the political central parliament over the entire Reich and all its organizations. But no parliament *per se* came to have an abiding place in Germany. Especially was this true after the National Socialists took control of the government in January, 1933.

Dissatisfaction with the parliamentary ideal of the Weimar Republic had been apparent from the very beginning of its existence, and ultimately there came to be a widespread feeling that parties existed to foster their own well-being rather than to promote the good of the whole nation. Hence, in the development of this part of the program, the parliamentary concept which permitted emphasis on scattered group interests was superseded by the idea of an authoritative leadership which was to act for the good of all the people. Ideologically the whole Reich was to be anchored in the principle of leadership. Not majorities, but responsible leaders were to formulate and carry out the policies of the Reich.

In the closing sentence these early leaders promised to fight for the realization of their program, and if necessary even sacrifice their lives. In a sense, this one sentence is a summation of the heroic, the dramatic, and even the fanatic which comprised the National Socialist movement. It could also be regarded as having been prophetic of the fate of both the program and its leaders, unintentionally so, to be sure.

As if to circumvent such an eventuality, a postscript was made an integral part of the program after it had survived fierce opposition for seven years. It read: "This program is unchangeable."[21] Thus by implication the program was vested with a measure of infallibility and something akin to immortality.

Today this sentence stands as a wrongly worded epigraph of an earnestly conceived but finite program of finite man.

In this connection one is reminded of the sentiment expressed by a church poet who wrote, "Change and decay in all around I see; O Thou, who changest not, abide with me!"

The Ideology of Hitler's "Mein Kampf"

As previously indicated, Hitler's autobiography, *Mein Kampf*,[22] is largely an expansion of the party policies revealed in the twenty-five-point program. Chapter 12 of volume 1 of his book, together with the appendix of posters, is especially revealing in that it gives the historical setting for the party program and explains the means employed by the early party leaders in their fierce struggle to implement National Socialist ideas.

Written during those early years when its author was striving for national leadership on the basis of the declared party program, *Mein Kampf* inevitably has come to be a fundamental compendium of Naziology. It was written while Hitler was in prison, probably with considerable help from others. It is a revelation of Hitler's thoughts and aims and methods, particularly as regards the nature of the Reich which he sought to create and control. It is of interest to observe here that after he had become the undisputed Fuehrer of the Third Reich he had the opportunity of doing that which falls to few such writers; namely, of translating his own ideas into national action. *Mein Kampf* will doubtless continue to stand as one of the most remarkable politico-ideological documents of the twentieth century.

It proved to be a Machiavellian guide not specifically for unscrupulous princes, but for a people that accepted Hitler as their super-Fuerhrer—and it led into captivity. Thousands followed him without ever having read the book. The title alone was contagious, and Hitler's oratory was magnetic. But the book itself merits investigation even by those who did not follow Hitler. Knowledge of this kind helps one to appreciate a democratic constitution.

On the first page of this revealing treatise Hitler called for a union of all Germans with common blood to belong to a common Reich, with special emphasis on union (*Anschluss*) with his native Austria. On the last page he glowed with the prophetic utterance that a state which, in an age of race corruption, fosters its best racial elements will one day master the world.[23]

With due allowance for diverse details, these two pages may be said to encompass the alpha and the omega of Hitlerian ideology. Its essence was the German race united and purified to constitute a *Deutschland über alles in der Welt*.

The conception of a unified and superior race was to be made the working basis of the new German state, the very axis around which it turned. This, strangely enough, had much in common with the Jewish concept of a chosen race, so offensive to National Socialists.[24]

National Socialists, Hitler maintained, not only owned, but also created the folkic idea of the state. At all events they translated it into a practical reality.

According to this idea, the state is a united community of blood and thought. Hence, mere state authority should not be the sole and exclusive purpose of the state. Rather, its purpose should be the promotion of the welfare of its subjects. The state should be merely a means to an end, the end being the promotion of a community of physically and psychically equal beings. The folkic state put the concept of race and community into the very center of life. Hitler averred that it is the highest purpose of the state to create and preserve the beauty and dignity of a higher Aryan humanity.[25]

Since the folkic idea of a state conveyed the conception of a united community of blood and thought, that is, homogeneity of race and idea, it followed that the enemies of such a state were those elements which were foreign to the community in blood or in thought. Foremost among these enemies were the Jews, who, according to *Mein Kampf,* formed the strongest contrast to the Aryan.[26] The individualistic and international ideologies of liberalism, Freemasonry, and Marxism made them also anathema in this kind of state.[27] For the same reason the Christian concept of the brotherhood of all men inevitably clashed with this exclusive Aryanism.

In harmony with the twenty-five-point program, Hitler taught that the individual is essentially a collective being, indissolubly bound up with the community of similar individuals, whether envisaged as race or nation. Personality is not an individualistic, but by its very nature a collective conception, for personality can be developed only within the collectivity. This implies that the title of personality can be acquired solely by services rendered to the social aggregate and does not derive from individual self-glorification. There is no such thing as individual liberty, but only the freedom of the community of race in which the individual participates because he is an indissoluble unit of the community. The right of personal freedom yields to the duty of preserving the race.[28] However, the person is still a supporting factor even in such a conception of community life.

By no means is Hitler's emphasis on the importance of the community to be understood as indicating that his philosophy of a state is based on majority groups such as usually dominate political parties in a parliamentary system. The new Fuehrer state required that selective leadership be the determining factor in state affairs. Not parliamentary democracy, but the National Socialist state founded on the principle of leadership, furnished the basis of Hitler's authoritarian regime. Under no condition should the decision of the leader be rejected by the opinion of a majority. The German people should have the right to choose their leader, but they should submit to the absolute authority of that leader.[29]

In this connection it may be pointed out that the Italian form of authoritarian totalitarianism early commended itself to Hitler. He ranked Mussolini among the great of this earth for trying to save his fatherland by dooming internationalism to annihilation.[30] In retrospect it is easy to understand that Mussolini did not annihilate internationalism; but he did serve as Hitler's mentor for a time, and the two came to have a common ideological basis for the Rome-Berlin axis, until it broke up in World War II.

In harmony with Germany's age-old quest for expansion, Hitler himself advocated an aggressive foreign policy. That the Treaty of Versailles would have to be abolished as a condition for giving Germany its rightful place in the sun was a foregone and fundamental conclusion.

At times Hitler seemed to be at a loss to know whether to regard England as a potential ally or reckon with her as a confirmed enemy.[31] Friendliness with England would help to detach that country from France. In the final analysis it is clear that an inimical attitude prevailed toward Great Britain. Hitler was also convinced that a traditional enemy like France could not be dealt with effectively by conciliatory means. Expansion at the expense of Poland and Russia was intimated, with little apparent recognition of the fatal consequences that such a policy might have.[32]

The real key to the entire foreign policy of National Socialism is found in the idea of *Lebensraum*.[33] According to Hitler, it was not heaven's intention to give fifty times as much land to one nation as to another. However, lost territories could not be gained by parliamentarian gabblers but by wielders of a sharp sword. Hitler's determination to win spatial advantages for Germany even at the risk of war was expressed as follows:

> We National Socialists must cling unflinchingly to our foreign-policy aims, that is to guarantee the *German nation the soil and territory to which it is entitled on this earth.* And this is the only action which, be-

> fore God and our German posterity, would seem to justify an investment of blood: *before God,* since we are placed in this world on condition of an eternal struggle for daily bread, as beings to whom nothing shall be given and who owe their position as lords of the earth only to the genius and courage with which they know how to struggle for and defend it.[34]

Perhaps no part of Hitler's program received wider support than did his foreign policy. On this point even some church leaders had little to quarrel with in National Socialism. The traditional church-state relationship in Germany, with churchmen as virtual employees of the state, makes a robust, not-too-critical patriotism almost inescapable. On the other hand, it also makes rulers feel their need of church support. This will be discussed shortly. But first let us consider the place of propaganda in making ideas effective.

The first task of propaganda, according to Hitler, is to attract followers; the task of organization is to win members. When propaganda has filled a whole people with an idea, then a mere handful of people can effect the organization necessary to implement that idea. A measure of fanaticism, even intolerance, must characterize both followers and members in order to make an idea effective. It is necessary to use every possible means of indoctrination, from the child's primer down to the last newspaper, including every theater, every movie, and every billboard. While the idea of National Socialism may be presented as spiritual, the protection thereof has to be secured, if necessary, by means of physical power. In this respect Christianity is taken as a model in that it took root not by compromise with similar philosophical opinions but by inexorable, fanatical preaching of its own doctrine.[35]

In the words of Hitler, successful propaganda and organization are achieved as follows: "The most striking success of the revolution of a view of life will always be won whenever the new view of life is, if possible, taught to all people, and, if necessary, is later forced upon them, while the organization of *the* idea, that means the movement, has to embrace only so many people as absolutely necessary for the occupation of the nerve centers of the State involved."[36] Estimates of Nazi Party membership in Hitler's Germany range anywhere from three million in 1933 to six million in 1938, with both Catholics and Protestants participating as party members.

Everything considered, the views of *Mein Kampf* on religion sound surprisingly favorable. It seems clear that Hitler himself, as a baptized Catholic, did not wish to be considered anti-Christian. He later gloried in the belief that he had employed warranted Christian methods to resist Marxist internationalism, freethinkers, and atheists. His attitude toward religious reformers of the old Germanic type was somewhat lukewarm at times.

The Ideology of Rosenberg's "Der Mythus"

According to Hitler, National Socialism saw in the two main religious bodies two valuable pillars for the existence of the people. He did express regrets that Catholics and Protestants were merrily at war with one another while the deadly enemy of Aryan humanity and of all Christendom laughed up its sleeve. He objected to the use of religion for political purposes, particularly the identification of the Catholic faith with a political party in Germany. Doubtless this feeling was one of the contributing reasons why the demise of the Center Party was made a stipulation of the concordat in 1933. Hitler well knew that if two persons try to ride on the same horse one must ride in front. Thus while he gives at least tacit approval to the church and its teachings he also makes it rather clear, inferentially, that in any dispute between religion and politics it is the political leader, or the state, which is to have the final and decisive word. On the whole, he recommended a tolerant attitude toward all Christian beliefs and warned that a statesman must avoid incurring the disfavor of established religions. While Hitler often disagreed with the church, he was never excommunicated.[37]

While Hitler at least paid lip service to Christianity, it soon became apparent that some of his associates within the party were considerably more critical. An outstanding example of such a one was Alfred Rosenberg. Mightier with his pen than with his sword, this zealous racialist contributed a great deal to the ideology of the Third Reich. His chief accomplishment in this direction was *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*).[38]

The author had put this intriguing work into outline form at about the time Versailles sealed the doom of the structure and ideals of the Second Reich. It was finished by 1925, but was not published until 1930. By 1938 it had gone through 142 editions, and 713,000 copies had been sold.

Meantime, Hitler had entrusted the author with the task of supervising the ideological and intellectual training and instruction within the framework of the party. He was also editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* (*People's Observer*), known as Hitler's paper and the chief organ of National Socialism.

Often referred to as one of the bibles of National Socialism, Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* stands second only to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as an authoritative expression of the Nazi mind. With some justification Peter Viereck calls *Mein Kampf* the Old Testament of the Nazi religion, and *Der Mythus* the New Testament.[39]

Each is a testament of blood, pure Aryan blood; but neither is founded on the atoning blood of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ; nor, indeed, on the Decalogue or the golden rule.

It may be observed here, parenthetically, that Rosenberg had written a special elaboration of the twenty-five-point party program shortly after it was first announced.[40] This preceded the publishing of *Der Mythus,* and in the main emphasized the same ideological aspects of the program as have already been pointed out.

But all else he wrote was secondary to the more germane ideological concepts contained in *Der Mythus.* As previously indicated, it was especially this work which gave to the twenty-five-point program, as well as to National Socialism in general, a further expansion and philosophical undergirding. Here the author shows himself to be both versatile and abstruse.[41] For some, Rosenberg is well-nigh incomprehensible, not because his ideas are essentially new and profound, but because his phraseology is generally involved. Even among the intelligentsia *Der Mythus,* so full of material, is too heavily written to engage the attention for long. It lacks a complete English translation; therefore it has not received the same kind of analytical and popular treatment that has been given to *Mein Kampf.*

This much, however, is clear: By *Der Mythus,* Rosenberg does not mean an idle fancy, but rather a dynamic faith, a conquering faith—a faith in blood. Only that is a living myth, he maintains, in defense of which men are ready to sacrifice their lives.

In harmony with this thought the book is dedicated to the two million German heroes who fell during World War I to preserve the German ideal of life and to maintain a German Reich of honor and freedom.

Like others, Rosenberg was greatly distressed by the German collapse of 1918. He felt that the sacrifice of the preceding four years could not have been in vain. To him those two million "martyrs" became the promise of a new day and their sacrifice a symbol of the eternal myth of German blood, on the strength of which a confused and lost generation of Germans could build a new Germany. Despite the revolution in thought and the national decline brought about by the war, the blood of those dead heroes represented the real life-giving force, *Der Mythus,* from which a rebirth of German honor and freedom could be achieved.

It is the idea of vindicating this spilled blood and of preserving healthy blood for all time to come that constitutes the crux of *Der Mythus.* It was to become the challenging task of the new generation to translate it into an abiding Reich.[42] In effect, the author seems to say, "Let us, the living, make sure that these shall not have died in vain."

The Myth of the Twentieth Century contains more than

700 pages and is divided into three parts (books). The first book is entitled, "The Conflict of Values." It is prefaced by a statement made by Frederick the Great: "I am king only as long as I am free." The three chapters of this book are headed: (1) "Race and Race-Soul," (2) "Love and Honor," and (3) "Mysticism and Work."

The second book bears the title, "The Nature of Germanic Art." It is prefaced by an appropriate statement taken from Richard Wagner: "Art is the living symbol of religion." The four chapters of this book are headed: (1) "The Racial Ideal of Beauty," (2) "Will and Impulse," (3) "Subjective and Objective Style," and (4) "The Aesthetic Will."

The third book is entitled, "The Coming Empire." It is prefaced by the following significant statement made by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn: "The holiest moment in the history of a people arrives when it awakens from its unconsciousness. . . . A people with a joyful and loving concept of the eternity of its own folkdom can at all times celebrate its rebirth and resurrection." The seven chapters of this book are headed: (1) "Myth and Type," (2) "The State in Relation to Past Generations," (3) "People and State," (4) "Nordic German Law," (5) "German National Church and School," (6) "A New State System," and (7) "The Unity of Existence."

These titles, prefatory statements, and chapter headings reveal the wide range of topics covered by the author, and they suggest the general content of the book and the author's manner of treatment. For purposes of giving further emphasis to the ideological significance of *Der Mythus,* a brief consideration will be given to each of the three main divisions.[43]

According to the statements made in the first part of *Der Mythus,* entitled "The Conflict of Values,"[44] the nineteenth-century world has collapsed and a racial world revolution has begun. History will no longer be determined by such forces as Marxism, capitalism, and liberalism, but by the myth of the race-soul. Soul, the author explains, represents the race viewed from within; and conversely, race is the exterior of the soul.[45]

In order to preserve and enhance the myth of this race-soul, it becomes necessary to eliminate alien and hindering elements which have superimposed themselves upon the Nordic soul. This will open the fountainhead of pure Germanic sources and will restore the character which true, religious Germanism had before it became poisoned by such foreign influences as, for illustration, Roman Christianity introduced.

It was this form of Christianity which substituted the adoration of martyrs and saints for the worship of Woden; but neither a Boniface nor the entire Roman-Jesuit-political system could completely eliminate it.

Luther's distinctive contribution was not the building up of a new religion but the breaking up of the Roman Church system. Unfortunately, however, even Wittenberg abets a poisoning of the noble Nordic soul by its acceptance of the Jewish teachings of the Old Testament. Indeed, both Protestants and Catholics represent a negative form of Christianity. The myth of blood is the exact opposite of the dogmas of both Wittenberg and Rome. Only the vitality of the native German soul has prevented the complete victory of such alien influences.

The atomistic *Weltanschauung* of both democracy and Marxism also represents a brutal materialism quite contrary to the integrating force of the racial myth.

Despite all such adverse influences the Nordic soul is beginning to work from its very center, mayhap secretly, even as it did when first created by Woden, but later manifestly operative in such characters as Master Eckhart, Bach, and others. It is this new German mysticism that is now breaking through, this myth of blood, which will liberate souls and awaken them to conscious endeavor.

The second book, entitled, "The Nature of Germanic Art,"[46] presents a racial interpretation of art, even as the first book attempts to interpret history and religion in terms of race values.

The beautiful of the Nordic race revealed itself in Greek art, in Dante's poetry, in Eckhart's sermons, and in Wagner's operas. All are organically one and are traceable to the art life of the Nordic soul.

Especially typical of Germanic art are the Nordic hero sagas of the Edda and the Nibelungenlied. They reveal the greatness of Germanic existence, with its love, loyalty, hatred, and revenge. Siegfried, obviously, typifies heroism, while Hagen represents villainy.

Richard Wagner, who sought to make art a religion, reveals all the essentials of Occidental art.[47] He fittingly expresses the pathos and the destiny of German life and presents the Nordic soul, not as lost in an individualistic psychology, but living according to the laws of the cosmic order.

In a sense the third book, "The Coming Empire," is merely a reiteration of the ideas already presented in book 1. It is not to be understood, however, that the emphasis is chiefly of a repetitious or negative character. The idea of substituting something more Germanic and of reawakening something more dynamic receives equally emphatic treatment. Nonetheless, the author constantly stresses that alien and competing myths must yield to the oncoming racially conscious Reich.

Foremost among the hindrances in the coming Reich is the chosen-race concept of the Jew. This stands in exact opposition to the soul-race myth of the Nordic, and therefore can have no abiding place in the Reich.

The universal myth of Rome, too, is not consonant with the myth of race. The pope recognizes all territories and all races as belonging to his spiritual domain. To do him reverence virtually calls for a denial of national honor. Hence, the claims of the vicar of Christ, along with the demoniac influence of Jewry, must be overcome if an honorable German race and a national culture are to prevail.

Another hindrance is the excessive emphasis placed on the emancipation of womankind, which came as a by-product of misguided liberalism. This sort of femininity undermines the concept of rugged manhood on the strength of which greatness has been achieved in Rome, Sparta, Athens, Potsdam, and even in China. The United States presents a glaring example of prodigious femininism.

Still another hindrance to the coming Reich is parliamentarianism (democracy), which places its emphasis on the doctrine of the equality of men. This is the most stupid dogma of universal history. A blood-conditioned, healthy people cannot recognize either individualism or universalism. The myth of blood which synthesizes the elements of socialism and nationalism constitutes a center in which the laws of life operate to achieve unity, honor, and character.

The new myth, furthermore, aims at a religious regeneration. It encourages a people's church in which the ideas of service and national honor predominate. In the same manner that the Roman myth makes the pope the vicar of Christ and thereby unites the different peoples, even so will the myth of blood, once grasped, serve as a magnet to draw all Germans together into a German church which recognizes no confessional barriers. This is one of the greatest tasks of our generation. The decline of states is inevitable if the religion of blood is not to be recognized and realized.

Today the myth of blood is as heroic as that expressed by generations two thousand years ago. The two million Germans who died for the idea of Germany demonstrated that the power of the Nordic race-soul is still alive. Their example is a symbol of the eternal myth of blood that will characterize the coming Reich.

Indeed, Rosenberg produced a myth. And this myth doubtless elicits the distinction of being the Nazi Edda of the twentieth century. While neither its propositions nor its conclusions are entirely new in the history of the human race, the manner in which its ideological concepts were translated into effective reality has perhaps never before been equaled. As has already been pointed out, the Naziological concepts of *Mein Kampf* and *Der Mythus* were welcomed by the defeated and confused Germans after World War I. Along with the twenty-five-point program, these two books were largely responsible for galvanizing the people into a mighty army. Ultimately, however, Hitler met his *Götterdämmerung,* and Rosenberg the hangman's noose. Before Hitler vanished he was married to his Eva, presumably with Christian sanction. Rosenberg, however, rejected every form of Christian ministry to the very end. As for the people, they now reap the harvest of their misguided allegiance.

The Antecedents of Nazi Ideology

Neither Hitler nor Rosenberg can be credited with complete originality in reference to their ideological concepts. They had numerous antecedents who invested the Germans with a feeling of race superiority.

One of these, curiously enough, was the French diplomat, Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882), whose writings attempted to establish the natural inequality of man.[48] He believed race and aristocracy to be the first condition of civilization. To create mediocre men at the expense of.the greater would, he believed, lead society down to nothingness whence no power on earth could rescue it. He distrusted the efficacy of prevailing religion and morality, and discovered the fulfillment of his ideal regarding race, heroes, and gods in the *Ring des Nibelungen,* one of Richard Wagner's greatest operatic compositions. Gobineau found in Wagner the highest exponent of Germanic virtues. Wagner, in turn, helped to found the "Gobineau school" to perpetuate the "pessimistic ideas" of Gobineau.[49]

Another predecessor of Nazi ideology was a Germanized Briton, Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1926). He became Richard Wagner's son-in-law, and both of them were members of the Gobineau school. The writings of Chamberlain were a boon to German nationalism in that they gave support to the theory of the Aryan supremacy of the German race.[50]

One of Rosenberg's most important sources is Chamberlain. In answering his critics he specifically acknowledged his indebtedness to this Germanized Briton.[51]

In his early struggles Hitler, in turn, had personally met Chamberlain, the son-in-law of Wagner, at Bayreuth and had received encouragement from him. Hitler's enthusiasm, not only for Chamberlain, but more so for Wagner, knew no bounds. He listed Wagner among the really great statesmen, along with Frederick the Great and Martin Luther.[52] He maintained that National Socialism could not be fully understood without a knowledge of Wagner's operas.[53] Wagner's concept that whatever was German was right had doubtless been endorsed by Gobineau, had surely been sanctioned by Chamberlain, and was enthusiastically proclaimed by both Hitler and Rosenberg.[54] Thus, in the sense and terminology of Wagner's productions, a kind of ideological "ring" may be conceived, in the center of which is Wagner himself, and around which are Gobineau, Chamberlain, Rosenberg, and Hitler, bringing together a union between ancient Germanism and modern Nazism.[55]

It is clear that others had helped to popularize racial and nationalistic doctrines among the Germans decades before the National Socialists announced their program. In the formulation and execution of this program they merely drew upon ideas already present in Nietzsche's superman, Treitschke's Nationalism, Hegel's *Weltgeist,* and Lagarde's national church, to mention a few other antecedents. The Nazis differed, however, from their predecessors in their extreme emphasis on common blood as the fundamental and exclusive basis of a nation, and in the degree to which they translated their ideology into brutal power and entrenched it by Gestapo methods. In the abstract the main essentials of the nation as conceived by German romanticists and political nationalists and by National Socialists had much in common.[56]

Biblical criticism may be mentioned as one other influence which prepared the way for, and contributed to, Naziology.

It is perhaps no mere coincidence that it was the scholars of Germany who, in their characteristic emphasis on thoroughness, pioneered an extravagant Biblical criticism during the half century preceding the advent of National Socialism. While in some respects such scholarship helped to a better understanding of the Bible, in other ways it did much to undermine faith in religious fundamentals and to discourage evangelical interest in Germany.[57]

It especially influenced Protestantism to fashion a Christianity with weakened dogmas, and to view the Bible as containing mythical expressions of a primitive people. The figure of Jesus was deprived of so many characteristic features that it tended to fade out altogether from the page of history, while Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* became increasingly important. A spiritual void was created in the lives of many people, and that void stood ready to receive the fullness and unity of the race concept.

This helps to explain the ardor which characterized the extremists of neopaganism. Its emphasis on the doctrine of "blood and soil" was somewhat of a revival of the hero and nature worship which was known among the Germans before the introduction of Christianity, and which was the theme of some of Wagner's operas that became so popular with National Socialists.

Luther's idea of an infallible Bible was yielding to the idea of an infallible race. Many of the German Christians among the National Socialists who welcomed the race idea were, in so doing, only an effect and not a cause. Their ideology was part of an inheritance handed to them by the influences of a generation that preceded them.

Furthermore, the religion of the churches had not "moved mountains" during the war. Neither did it help appreciably in solving the economic and social problems after the war. Factors like these encouraged the acceptance of the race creed which, it was believed, held better promises.

It would be an error, however, to conclude that all of Germany accepted the kind of racial paganism connected with the name of Rosenberg. There always remained the Scriptural seven thousand whose knees would not bow to Baal.

Rosenberg maintained that *Der Mythus* was only his personal confession and not that of the party,[58] and he himself apparently did not think that his views were antagonistic to essential Christianity,[59] yet even a casual reading of *Der Mythus* will reveal the inevitable ideological conflict between his book and accepted Christianity.

He regarded the teachings of the Catholic Church, of the Jewish Old Testament, and of the apostle Paul as being incompatible with the race myth. He advocated the idea of a people's church; that is, a national church without confessional barriers and dedicated to the Germanic idea. He taught that the struggle for racial supremacy was to be regarded as a kind of *summum bonum* even among religionists.

Revolutionary proposals and ideas like these naturally aroused opposition. Both Protestants and Catholics arose in defense of their respective positions and sent forth a flood of polemics.[60]

They pointed out that the rejection of the Old Testament meant the virtual rejection of the Gospels, which are related to it. The rejection of the apostle Paul meant the virtual rejection of all the rest of the New Testament. To accept the concept of race meant the virtual denial of man's common brotherhood. To accept an excessive emphasis on heroism meant the virtual negation of the love of God itself.

Rosenberg showed himself quite willing to answer criticisms squarely and voluminously.[61] In the introduction of the third edition of *Der Mythus,* written in 1933, he took obvious delight in acknowledging the disturbance his writing had caused among the leaders of both Catholicism and Protestantism.[62]

He pointed out that Protestants applauded his treatment of the Huguenot persecution,[63] and stated that informed theologians among them also agreed that the influence of race-soul was a determining factor in ancient history. But, he claimed, when it comes to drawing the necessary conclusion that the Jew has his own peculiar character, alien to the German soul, they object. In this Catholics join Protestants, and together they brand his folkic concept as idolatry; but they do not object to the idolatry they themselves make of the writings and influence of the parasitical and inimical Jew. Indeed, they insist that the cosmic God must be cast into Old Testament molds.

Protestants forget, he continued, that Luther revolted against an exotic priesthood, in order to make the Germanizing of Christianity possible. In his *Protestantische Rompilger* (*Protestant Pilgrims to Rome*), he answered their protest against his writings, at the same time pointing out that leaders today no longer dare to protest against Rome. He said, "If Dr. Martin Luther were to rise today he would use the tracts written by these leaders to box their ears and would emphatically voice anew the never-ending protest of the whole Germanic world against Rome and Jerusalem, even as he did four hundred years ago."[64]

His answer to the Catholics was given in a monograph entitled, *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit* (*To the Obscure Men of Our Times*). The scholastics of the fifteenth century had been dubbed "obscure men" by the allegedly enlightened humanists. Doubtless Rosenberg thought of himself as an enlightened leader in Hitler's new order, and quite likely he regarded the Catholic leaders as unenlightened men who did not recognize the needs of the times.

In this work he made acknowledgment of the wide publicity that had been given *Der Mythus* in books, pamphlets, and sermons, and of how the pope had finally placed it on the Index. After discussing such topics as "Historical Forgeries," "The Struggle Over the Old Testament," and "Jesuit Arrogancy," he concluded with the observation that it was not his deliberate aim to inaugurate a Kulturkampf or to appeal to those who are happy and contented in their faith, but rather to help the millions who had left their old forms of belief and now seek a new orientation.[65]

This controversy was not entirely negative. It had its merit in that it led the churches to re-examine their fundamental beliefs and give public justification for the faith which they proclaim. Perhaps one of the clearest and most effective treatments of the problems involved was given by Cardinal Faulhaber in his work entitled, *Judaism, Christianity, Germanism.* Doctrinally and ideologically considered, this book contains one of the most pertinent and constructive statements that emerged from the entire church struggle in Germany. It reads: "We must never forget that we are saved not by German blood, but by the precious blood of our crucified Lord."[66]

The ideology of the Third Reich was also suggested by its symbol and salute.

The Nazis chose as their emblem a primitive, symbolico-religious ornament, having arms bent at right angles and called *Hakenkreuz* (hooked cross). It was also popularly known as the swastika. Since the *Sonnenrad* (circle of the sun) and the *Hakenkreuz* had served as pre-Christian emblems of Germanic paganism, the appropriateness of their use as a National Socialist insigne is quite apparent.[67] To every earnest Nazi it meant *In hoc signo vinces* (By this sign thou shalt conquer). Gottfried Feder, who wrote the twenty-five-point program, rhapsodized over the emblem as follows: "We National Socialists follow the fluttering battle flag. Eternally youthful, radiant, and luminous, there rises before us, in the circle of the sun, the hooked cross, the symbol of a reawakening life."[68]

As finally designed by Hitler himself, the emblem had a background of red cloth with a white circle, and in its center a black swastika. The red was to represent the social idea of the movement, the white the nationalistic idea, and the swastika the fight for victory of the Aryan man.

Both the regular party members and the storm troopers wore the party uniform of a brown shirt with a black swastika mounted on a red-and-white arm band.

Shortly after Hitler assumed the chancellorship, President Hindenburg decreed that all public buildings in the future should display the swastika flag along with the imperial black-white-red standard, instead of the republican black-red-gold ensign. This was followed by a law passed on September 15, 1935, according to which the swastika was to replace the black-white-red ensign of imperial days, and henceforth be used as the only national flag of the Third Reich.[69]

For about a decade the swastika was recognized as the only national emblem of Germany. During this short time it was decidedly supreme, so much so, that in the esteem of many Nazified religionists it superseded even the Christian cross as an emblem of devotion.

Indicative of the ideological use made of National Socialist devices for religious purposes, was the "Thirty-Point National Church Program." According to this plan, announced early in 1942, the altars of churches in Germany were to be cleared of Bibles, crucifixes, and pictures of saints. They were to have nothing but *Mein Kampf*, as the most sacred book to the German nation, and therefore to God as well. To the left of the altar was to be a sword. On the day of the foundation of this "national church" the Christian cross was to be removed from all churches, cathedrals, and chapels within the Reich, and its place was to be taken by the only unconquerable symbol, the *Hakenkreuz*.[70]

Instead of the customary greeting *Guten Tag*, or *Der Herr segne dich*, the words "Heil Hitler" were used. Instead of the tipping of hat or a handshake, the Nazi salute was given. Instead of applause, especially at party mass meetings, a rhythmic *Sieg Heil!* was given in chorus. In this way the term *Heil* was associated with the ideas of the party, and especially with the name of Hitler. It conveyed the thought of healing, salvation, and victory in the midst of conditions which were believed to threaten the life of the people or of the nation.

The Horst Wessel song was a further expression of Naziology. This rallying song was not especially directed against other nations but rather against class war and selfishness within the Reich itself. It emphasized ideas of alertness, work, national honor, and unity.

A rousing composition, it was the work of Horst Wessel, a youthful member of the Berlin storm troopers who was killed, January 22, 1930, in one of the numerous fights which took place between the Nazis and the Communists at that time. Subsequently, National Socialist propaganda made him a martyr in their cause.

At a dedicatory service held in Berlin on the third anniversary of Horst Wessel's death Hitler himself was present and spoke as follows:

> Every nation in its deepest need brings forth a singer who expresses that which the masses feel within their own hearts. Such a singer is Horst Wessel, in whose honor this monument is dedicated.
>
> After centuries have passed and not one stone is left on another in Berlin, this singer of the greatest movement for German freedom will continue to be remembered.
>
> Horst Wessel, who rests under this stone, is not dead. Daily, hourly, his spirit attends us and marches with us in our ranks.[71]

At the conclusion of this impressive ceremony 10,000 SA and SS joined in singing the song.

After the party took over the government, this marching song was given equal status with "*Deutschland über alles*" as the official anthem of the Third Reich. Indeed, for many Nazis the rhythm and the sentiment of their marching song conveyed something of the religious zeal of Luther's Reformation hymn, "*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*" ("A Mighty Fortress Is Our

God"). In unrhymed English the wording of this battle hymn of Nazism is as follows:

Raise the flag aloft, keep your ranks closed;
SA marches on with calm, firm step.
Our comrades who were shot by Red Front and reaction
March on in spirit within our ranks.

Clear the streets for the brown battalions;
Clear the streets for the SA men.
Millions now gaze with hope upon the swastika,
For the dawn of the day of freedom and bread.

For the last time now the alarm is sounded;
We all stand prepared for the battle.
Soon Hitler flags will flutter over the streets;
Our bondage will last but for a short while.

Raise the flag aloft, keep your ranks closed;
SA marches on with calm, firm step.
Our comrades who were shot by Red Front and reaction
March on in spirit within our ranks.

To the casual reader this song may appear as harmless as the ditty, "Open the Door, Richard." But while "Richard" might conceivably represent any individual in a democracy, be he Negro, Indian, Jew, or German (that is, if "Richard" represents anything at all), the "comrades" of the Horst Wessel song represented phalanxes of pure-blooded Aryans within a totalitarian state.

In conclusion, it is important to emphasize that the Naziological features discussed in this chapter were totalitarian; that is, all economic, social, and cultural agencies of the Third Reich were to be permeated by these forces and regimented by them for the glory of race, nation, and Hitler.

Especially serviceable in this respect were the concepts of folkic community and the leadership principle. As has been pointed out, the people, on the basis of common blood and a homogeneous national character, formed the folkic community.

The laws that governed this community theoretically emerged from the inner spiritual, political, and material necessities of this people. Legislation was not derived and superimposed from without, but it was inherent in the very soul of the people. The important thing in the concept was that not the individual *per se* counted, but that community interests were always paramount. The basic idea of Hitler's program was that general welfare must always take precedence over individual welfare. It was a primacy of the people, in which, however, only racial comrades were recognized.[72] These had no subjective public rights covered by a written law which recognized individual freedom. Hitler regarded such a provision as something superfluous, and he deliberately refused to give the Third Reich a written constitution.[73]

Thank God for the written Constitution of our democracy, with its Bill of Rights! In Nazi Germany individuals lived and moved and had their security only as racial comrades in a folkic community, epitomized by the Fuehrer.

According to the concept of the leadership principle, the Fuehrer was a member within this folkic community. He embodied and represented the folkic idea in its fullest sense. Therefore he had inherent rights par excellence. His dicta[74] were an expression of the natural laws of racial life. These basic laws, together with the fundamental concepts of National Socialism, were interpreted as comprising the very essence of a constitution.[75] It turned out to be the stuff of which despotisms are made.

Since the individual was nothing, while the state was everything, justice, too, came to be based on popular feeling as much as on legal texts. "Right is what is useful to the German people,"[76] came to be recognized as a principle of justice. In 1934, the Roehm purge tried to cow all opposition. About the same time special People's Courts were established, presumably to bring judicial procedure into closer touch with the principles of German common law. Actually, they were paving the way for the party to become a law unto itself.

While the chief jurisdiction of these courts was over cases of high treason, this term was subsequently defined to cover such a wide range of cases that even the distribution of a banned newspaper might be an act of treason. At the same time measures and actions of the Gestapo[77] were made exempt from judicial control. By such arrangements and interpretations the groundwork was laid for a form of totalitarian control which found its ugliest expression in the atrocities later committed in the concentration camps of Buchenwald and Dachau. In 1936 an Evangelical Church letter was addressed personally to Hitler, protesting against this trend and pleading for moderation.[78]

Hitler knew when to ignore, when to temporize, and when to alibi. In this instance he ignored the protest, while his party fastened its tentacles upon every phase of life within the Third Reich.

The express purpose of the National Socialist party being that of bearer and custodian of the folkic idea,[79] the party's primary mission was to achieve the ideological conquest of the people and to promote the organizations of the folkic community.[80] In this process a great variety of techniques was utilized, such as mass meetings, parades, sports, uniforms, and symbols, all of which were calculated to lift the populace above the drabness of the Weimar Republic and to mold the citizenry of the new order through vital experiences in carefully supervised organizations.

At first the party was virtually a state within the state, but subsequently the party and the state were united.[81] For practical purposes the party was given the legal status of a corporate public body.[82] Thus, parallel to the regular hierarchy of Reich and state officials, there was created another hierarchy of party officials along with a maze of affiliated organizations, which comprehended or affected virtually the entire population. Especially influential were the Hitler Youth and the Labor Front. The former embraced the entire youth of the Reich to train them physically and morally in the spirit of National Socialism;[83] the latter regimented the adult masses to implement the doctrines of the party still further. The labor recreation branch, *Kraft durch Freude* (Strength Through Joy) was particularly popular. By such organizational and ideological means the party ultimately stood above and beside the state as a dynamic influence and as the wielder of the authority derived from the folkic community and embodied in the will of the Fuehrer.[84]

National Socialism represented a totalitarian ideology which sought to capture the loyalty of every German and to give direction to every activity within the Reich. By 1937 Hans Kerrl, Reichsminister for church affairs, expressly recognized National Socialism as a religious movement,[85] and the official organ of the party's elite guards proclaimed the Nazi state to be God-inspired.[86]

In summarizing his brochure, *Die Drei Reiche,* Dr. Wilhelm Hoeper asks, "What is the Third Reich?" He explains that self-assertive Germanism is the victorious idea of the Third Reich. It is, he adds, a *Deutschland über alles,* which bases its substance upon blood and soil. There is no place in the Third Reich for doubt and fear, nor for individuality, liberalism, parliamentarianism, or confessional controversies. Since all Germans are of one blood, it follows that all should believe in one God. Whether Catholic or Protestant, all must be alike. While admitting that the goal of a united German church might be a distant dream, Dr. Hoeper insisted that all yearning and endeavor in church relationships must be carried out with this goal in view, and that everything which would hinder such a development must be forcibly held in check.[87]

By its very nature the movement of the Third Reich was a religious phenomenon, and its ideology was destined to influence every phase of German existence, including the life of the churches, both Catholic and Protestant. As for the life of the synagogue, the aim was to destroy it entirely, root and branch.

~ 5 ~

Fruits of Ancient Paganism in Modern Germany

NOT only Germans, but good Christians everywhere, daily partake of the fruits of ancient paganism in their speech. A large number of reputable and expressive words in everyday usage are of pagan origins.

For example, the use of the word "vulcanize" perpetuates the memory of Vulcan, the ancient god of devouring flame. The calliope, traditional music maker for gala occasions, has taken the name of the beautiful-voiced Muse who anciently presided over song and poetry. A jovial person expresses the spirit of Jove, the god of light. A handsome young man is often credited with being an Apollo, one of the Olympian deities of manliness and beauty. The word "herculean" comes from Hercules, the strong son of Zeus; "erotic," from Eros, the god of love; "bacchanalian," from Bacchus, the god of wine; and "atlas," from the god Atlas, who was believed to support the world.

The name of every day of the week is a product of paganism. Tuesday and Thursday, for illustration, are derivatives of the old German war gods Tiu and Thor, respectively.

All such verbal fruits of ancient paganism have been rendered quite harmless religiously. This was not true, however, of the potent forces of paganism which were revived in Nazi Germany. That revival concerned something far more virulent. It was a way of life that was preached by the zealous prophets of Hitler's new order and lived by their followers.

Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus,* for example, makes frequent reference to Woden (Odin, Wotan), identifying him with the spiritual forces which have been operative in the Germanic world since ancient times. All great Germans, such as Eckhart, Wagner, and Lagarde, are said to have been motivated by this restless, knowledge-seeking spirit. "Woden as the eternal mirror of primeval soul forces of the Nordic man is living today," said this zealot of neopaganism, "just as he did five thousand years ago."[1]

In discussing the violent traits of Nazism, C. G. Jung, world-famed analytical psychologist, pointed out that something powerful struck Germany. An ancient god of storm and frenzy who had lain quiet for ages suddenly broke out in a volcano. Woden, the restless wanderer, the mischief-maker, who stirs up strife and lets loose the passion and lust for battle, came to life in the socio-politico-psychical storm that shook Germany to its depth. Somewhat in harmony with the idea expressed by Rosenberg, he explained: "Wotan [is] a basic element of the German soul, an irrational psychical factor, a stormwind which destroys and sweeps away the pretensions of civilizations."[2]

Jung's striking analysis, made in 1937, has become a reality. As a result of Hitler's unsuccessful gamble for world domination, from 50 to 80 per cent of the German cities lie in rubble. It is as if some giant, possessed of Teutonic fury, had arisen from the myths and wantonly destroyed the symbols of civilization.

"To understand Wotan's character," continued Jung, "we need to understand history and such revelations as we may gather from myths."

Unfortunately, our knowledge of the Germans before they broke through the northern defenses of the Roman Empire to make their tumultuous entrance into history is vague and uncertain. We do know, however, that for generations these restless Teutons were involved in confused migrations before they settled in Central Europe. During this unsettled period, paths of hostile peoples often crossed and recrossed each other, bloody battles were fought, feats of heroism were performed, frequent and violent changes took place, ancient myths and actual happenings blended, and gods became heroes and heroes became gods.[3] Ancient Germanic religions became greatly confused, and no great teacher ever arose among them to bring these numerous myths, creeds, and cults into unity.

This division in things religious has continued until now. In view of the National Socialist passion for unity it is readily understandable why Hitler said, "It is the tragedy of the Germanic world that no German savior was born among us."[4]

The mythology of the ancient Teutons was conditioned by the ever-present climatic struggle between extreme cold and heat. This tended to give the barbaric mind a somber, tragic, and fatalistic outlook on life. The gods were conceived to have been on the side of the sun, warmth, and fire. Opposing them and representing frost and darkness were the giants. In general, the gods were favorable to man, while the giants were enemies both of the gods and of the human race.[5]

As has already been indicated, the greatest of the Teutonic gods was Woden, the all-father, who was worshiped as the god of war, wind, agriculture, and art. He was also represented as being the god of the dead, who often swept along with him through the air as, on his famous war horse, he traveled about in the wind. Woden's capital, Asgard, was the home of all gods, and it was looked upon as the heavenly citadel for the dead.[6]

Located in Asgard was the great gold-roofed hall, Valhalla, the home of heroes slain in battle.[7] They were conducted thither by the Valkyries, Woden's battle maidens, who were active while the battle was raging, choosing the warriors who were to fall and protecting those who were to fight on.[8] In Valhalla the fallen heroes found a paradise of fighting, feasting, and drinking. During the day they would go forth and fight until mealtime, then ride back to Valhalla and sit down to feast and drink mead with Woden.[9] The Valkyries were present to wait upon the tables, pass the beakers, and replenish the mead jug.[10]

Other important gods of the Teutons were Thor, Tiu, and Balder (Baldur)—all sons of Woden. Among these Thor excelled in strength, being second only to Woden. He was ruler of the air and expressed himself by flinging his lightning hammer through the skies. This famous hammer was used by the Teutons as a religious symbol in the same way that modern Christians employ the cross.[11]

Tiu was the one-handed god of the sword, war, and victory.[12] Balder was the German Apollo, the god of light, of youth, purity, and innocence. Loki, the god of evil, contrived to have him murdered.[13]

Besides these greater gods there was a host of lesser deities, the most outstanding of which were the goddess Frigg, the all-knowing wife of Woden; and Loki, the satan of northern mythology, whose daughter Hel (Hela) was the fearsome goddess of death.

The ancient Germans worshiped neither in temples nor before images. They honored their deities in open spaces and in the depths of the forest. Commenting on their religious practices, Tacitus, a Roman historian of the first Christian century, wrote, "They deem it incompatible with the majesty of the heavenly host to confine the gods within walls or to mold them into any likeness of the human face; they consecrate groves and coppices, and they give the divine names to that mysterious something which is visible only to the eyes of faith."[14] That this worship permeated German life is shown by the fact already mentioned that the name of almost every day of the week is derived from that of a member of this Nordic pantheon.

Their worship, furthermore, was concrete and crudely anthropomorphic. In nearly every case the gods were thought of as supermen who excelled especially in strength and wisdom, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, in moral virtues. Thor, for instance, was a glutton.[15]

The ancient gods of the Teutons inspired to physical exaltation, heroism, and domination. There was very little in their religion to encourage meekness and self-denial.

The power-loving, fatalistic mythology of these ancient Teutons is further revealed in one of the songs of the Eddas,[16] in which the doomsday of the world is described. The forces of the gods under Woden meet the powers of evil under Loki. One wolf devours the sun and another the moon, the stars fall from heaven, the earth shakes, the mountains fall, and the trees are uprooted. Despite the magnificent fight of the gods, their doom is sealed, and the universe is consumed by fire. After this there arises a new world.[17] This change is usually referred to as the "Twilight of the Gods." The words *Ragnarök* and *Götterdämmerung* are also frequently used to designate the event.

This pagan concept has very little in common with what the Bible has to say about the end of the world. Indeed, the early introduction of Christianity changed the Germanic concept of religion only a little. *Der Heliand* and *Der Krist*, written in the ninth century, were largely Scriptural accommodations to Teutonic heroism. The primitive gods retained their influence.[18]

The Nibelungenlied

In close association with the gods, and forming an integral part of Teutonic mythology, were the various heroes, or demigods, who, it seems, were believed to have descended from the gods themselves. They were possessed of a sense of irresistible fate which led them to welcome the sword and die happily.[19]

According to the Elder Edda the chief of these heroes was Sigurd. As a youth he engaged the dragon Fafnir in combat, slew him, bathed himself in the dragon's blood, and took possession of the treasure which the dragon had been guarding. He also became the recipient of an invisible mantle. Thanks to his superior powers he was able to rescue Brynhild, a Valkyrie, to whom he was subsequently married for a short while. After his separation from Brynhild he was treacherously slain while still in the glory of manhood.[20]

It was on the basis of such old Norse sagas and legends of the migration of the nations that the Nibelungenlied was written sometime in the thirteenth century by an unknown author. It is, as Professor Carpenter says, "not only the great epic of Germany, but in its widest sense an epic of the Germanic race."[21] It is one of those rare productions that have affected the fate of nations. Its origin, growth, and final content were uniquely fitted to the genius of the race that was awakened by it and took it to heart.

The story of the Nibelungenlied abounds in struggle and woe. There are occasional scenes of innocence, gaiety, and happiness; but the prevailing note is deeply serious. Tragedy follows tragedy, and blood flows freely. The passions of its chief characters burn furiously and express themselves in frightful and overwhelming power like the untamed forces of nature. Self-seeking, intrigue, jealousy, hatred, revenge, murder, along with love, loyalty, and gratitude are portrayed in a simple, direct, and effective manner.

The chief hero is Siegfried, who, like his prototype Sigurd, of Edda fame, slew the dragon Fafnir and bathed himself in its blood, and thereby rendered his skin invulnerable to harm on every part of his body except one small spot between the shoulder blades, which was left untouched by the dragon's blood. He also took possession of the great hoard of gold which originally belonged to the Nibelungen.[22]

The narrative of the Nibelungenlied begins at the court of King Gunther of Burgundia, where Siegfried fell in love with the tenderhearted Kriemhild, Gunther's sister. In a war with the Danes and Saxons he proved himself worthy of her, and she was offered him in marriage on condition that he accompany King Gunther to Isenstein and aid him in winning the powerful Brunhild to become his queen. This Siegfried did, and Kriemhild became his wife, while Brunhild became the wife of Gunther. The two women quarreled one day, whereupon Kriemhild insulted Queen Brunhild by implying that Siegfried was superior to Gunther, and moreover, that he had won her "virgin love." Standing nearby was Hagen, a knight loyal to Gunther. Through deceptive means Hagen had learned from Kriemhild of the one spot on Siegfried's back that was vulnerable. Luring Siegfried into the forest on a hunting excursion, Hagen treacherously stabbed him in the back while he was drinking from a brook. The murderer immediately sent to the land of the Nibelungen and took the hoard of gold. Bringing it to Burgundy, he took Gunther and his brothers into his confidence and hid the gold in the Rhine.

The rest of the story concerns Kriemhild's second marriage to the king of the Huns, and her revenge on Hagen and his associates. In order to bring them within her grasp she persuaded her new husband, King Etzel, to invite Gunther and his statesmen to the palace of the Huns for a royal feast. Once they were there, her men sprang upon them, and although they defended themselves heroically, all of them were killed except Gunther and Hagen, who were captured and placed in dungeons. Kriemhild made one last attempt to recover the hoard of gold which the wicked Hagen had taken after killing her first husband.

She went to Hagen's cell and promised him deliverance on condition that he would tell the location of the treasure he had stolen from her. But Hagen well knew that she would never let him escape, so he said he would not tell as long as any of his kinsmen were alive. Then Kriemhild had Gunther's head cut off, and she herself took her brother's head to Hagen's cell, saying in effect, "All right, now tell me!"

> Awhile in gloomy sorrow he viewed his master's head;
> Then to remorseless Kriemhild thus the warrior said:
> "E'en to thy wish this business thou to an end hast brought,
> To such an end, moreover, as Hagan ever thought.
>
> "Now the brave King Gunther of Burgundy is dead;
> Young Giselher and eke Gernot alike with him are sped;
> So now, where lies the treasure, none knows save God and me,
> And told shall it never be, be sure, she-fiend! to thee."[23]

Then Kriemhild took Siegfried's sword and put an end to the mighty Hagen. The hoard of gold was forever lost to the world. But the woes of the once tenderhearted Kriemhild were not past. An aged knight named Hildebrand, standing by, lamented "that the hand of a woman the noblest knight should slay," and he drew his own sword and hewed Kriemhild to pieces.

> The mighty and the noble there lay together dead;
> For this had all the people dole and drearihead.
> The feast of royal Etzel was thus shut up in woe.
> Pain in the steps of Pleasure treads ever here below.

Doubtless the unknown writer of this epic little realized that he was embodying in rhythmic verse a heroic and fatalistic philosophy which would find enthusiastic devotees hundreds of years later, who were to know by experience that "pain in the steps of Pleasure treads ever here below."

The Influence of Richard Wagner in Modern Germany

Richard Wagner has already been referred to as one of the forerunners of Naziology. He was the connecting link between ancient and modern paganism in Germany.

Wagner was thoroughly steeped in Teutonic mythology. He named his own son Siegfried after the hero of the Nibelungenlied.[24] One of his greatest operatic compositions, *Der Ring,* is based on the same sources from which the Nibelungenlied was derived. *Der Ring* constitutes a series of four operas: *Rheingold, Walküre, Siegfried,* and *Götterdämmerung.* Siegfried is the hero of the series, and his adventures, reinforced by music and stage setting, are made to fit into Wagner's philosophy of nationalism.

As Mario Bendiscioli points out, "It was Wagner, with the powerful suggestion of his music and poetry, who brought the minds of the people into conscious contact with their pre-Christian Nordic ancestors."[25]

Emphasizing much the same idea, George Beiswanger observed:

> There is no more imposing high priest in the cult of National Social-

> ism than the *Meister* of Bayreuth. Not only was he in person an embodiment of many of the fantasies that go to make up the Nazi imagination, but his writings and music dramas have provided Hitler's Germany with a specific and grandiose myth. . . . Hitler himself has said: "Whoever wants to understand National Socialistic Germany must know Wagner."[26]

Wagner's significance in the history of nineteenth-century culture was also emphasized by Jacques Barzun: "Wagner was an artist-philosopher who took the cosmos for his province. Moreover, after allowing for superficial differences, we find so many links uniting Darwinism, Marxism, and Wagnerism that the three doctrines can be seen as the crystallization of a whole century's beliefs."[27] Thomas Mann declared, "Wagner's music is not music. . . . It is psychology, symbolism, mythology, emphasis, everything—only not music in the pure and consummate sense."[28]

Friedrich Nietzsche likewise helped to crystallize nineteenth-century beliefs and pave the way for a revival of twentieth-century paganism. While Teutonic paganism has existed sporadically from time immemorial, Nietzsche, Darwin, and Marx gave it more unified sanction by making it the basis for their philosophical-scientific-economic interpretations. Wagner's contribution to the process gave it a cultural stamp.

However, there seems to be some difference of opinion as to whether or not Wagner really intended that his operas, especially *Der Ring,* should influence the German nation as they did. One writer goes so far as to say that his works have been misinterpreted by the German people in general and by the Nazis in particular. He holds to the idea that Wagner's *Der Ring* cycle has nothing to do with the theories of Nazism.[29] Wagner's granddaughter, Friedelind, stoutly holds to the same point of view.[30]

It is of interest to note here that Winifred Wagner, Richard Wagner's daughter-in-law and mother of Friedelind Wagner, was once linked romantically with Hitler. In 1947 she was adjudged an offender by a denazification court at Bayreuth for having joined the Nazi Party in 1926 and for having made available the heritage of her famous father-in-law for Nazi propaganda purposes. Frau Wagner and her daughter Friedelind apparently were at odds over Hitlerian policies. Friedelind thereupon left for America and wrote her anti-Hitler book.

Another writer, however, contends unhesitatingly that Wagner is as much responsible as anyone for having brought on World War II. Hitler, he points out, fancied himself to have been a Siegfried, the central figure of Wagner's *Der Ring*, who was born a god.[31] Furthermore, we have Hitler's own statement that his youthful enthusiasm for the master of Bayreuth knew no bounds.[32] Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* gave Wagner a large number of favorable references. It is safe to conclude, then, that Wagner, intentionally or otherwise, did do service for Hitler's tyranny. At least he helped to lift Teutonic paganism out of the past and place it into the very soul of modern Germany. By this is not meant that all of Wagner's operas are exclusively pagan. Thomas Mann speaks of Protestant nationalism in the *Meistersinger* and of the Catholic spirit in *Parsifal*.[33] These two, incidentally, are Wagner's only operas that do not have a tragic ending. Most of his other productions effuse that nationalistic spirit of heroism and strife which was breathed anew into a defeated Germany and ultimately contributed to the Nazi denouement.

Indeed, under National Socialism, Germany came to think of itself as a kind of Siegfried among nations, treacherously abused and stabbed in the back. The brave, loyal, sincere Siegfried came to be a personal symbol for thousands of young people in Germany who made Siegfriedism a virtual religion. His spilled blood, they were taught, needed vindication.

Far more than is commonly believed are operas, motion-picture theaters, and radio and television thrillers responsible for the thinking and behavior of youth today. Surely there is a reason why multitudes of young people are completely indifferent to gospel hymns and see no significance in the Bible. Someone will have to give an awful account for the pabulum offered, whether it be in the name of popular entertainment or for commercial purposes. The fruits of paganism will not be limited to Germany if the seeds of paganism continue to be sown everywhere. As surely today as of old, "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," regardless of nation, race or people.

The extent to which Wagner helped to shape both the religious policies and the destiny of the Third Reich can be viewed in retrospect in terms of the last opera of *Der Ring,* the *Götterdämmerung.* Here the conflict between the gods and the giants reached a climax, and Woden, despairing of success for himself, atoned for his failures by having Valhalla, the palace of the gods, destroyed in flames. This action resulted from the pagan idea of atonement through general and self-willed annihilation. Wagner himself said of *Der Ring* cycle, "Here everything is tragic and the will that wanted to shape an entire world according to its wish can finally attain nothing more satisfactory than a worthy annihilation."[34] No better characterization of Hitler's last days can be found anywhere. National Socialism, which had elevated the philosopher-musician and his paganistic myth to be the embodiment of the spirit of the new order, ultimately perished of its own inner elements of destruction in much the same manner as did the ancient religion of the pagan North.[35] How different might the record have been had Luther's "mighty fortress" remained Germany's "bulwark never failing"!

German Faith (Neopaganism) in Modern Germany

From the foregoing it is apparent that some form of paganism had been a potential force among the Germans ever since Tacitus referred to them as "a peculiar people and pure, like no one but themselves, . . . who give a special worship to Mercury [Woden], to whom on certain days they count even the sacrifice of human life lawful."[36]

The early form of Christianity which was introduced among them, far from maintaining its apostolic purity, became a kind of baptized paganism in its accommodations to heathen customs, holidays, and gods. Christmas, Easter, and names of weekdays are a few examples of Christian adaptations derived from pagan sources.[37] Indeed, recent pagans in Germany who thought of Christianity as something alien to the Germanic world had some basis for their contention. It has already been observed that both the circle of the sun and the hooked cross on the insigne of National Socialism were pre-Christian emblems of Germanic paganism.[38]

Extreme groups of neopagans, however, were not immediately recognized by National Socialism—at least, not overtly. Both Hitler and Gottfried Feder were rather lukewarm in their expressions about *Wodenism*.[39] There was good reason for this reticence. Germany is the birthplace of the Protestant Reformation, and despite ever-present, latent paganism, Christianity has taken root within the country. The established churches, Roman Catholic and Evangelical, were still held in high esteem by the majority of the German people. Political astuteness dictated that no unnecessary offense be directed against those who still believed in Christianity. Nonetheless, in time government officials became more outspoken against the Christianity of the churches, for Germanic paganism harmonized much more easily with the creed of race and the superior worth of the Aryan man than did the traditional doctrines of the Christian church.[40]

This does not mean that neopaganism was a simple and direct return to the worship of the ancient Germanic gods, as such. It was a modified revival of the spirit and power of the Nordic gods, who had so much in common with human strength and frailties. To illustrate: Although the sunny, youthful Balder could die, his death did not result in a fatalistic spirit of passive resignation among the gods. Instead, it called forth a heroic struggle with the powers of fate. To recapture this unyielding spirit and native power, and to make it serve the rebirth of a racially pure nation, was one of the leading features of neopaganism.[41]

It should be remembered, moreover, that definite dechristianizing influences had been at work in Germany for nearly a century before this more recent neopaganism asserted itself. The earlier doctrines of rationalism, atheism, and materialism had greatly weakened the position of the church. Writing at the turn of the century, L. Weber, a prominent German theologian and writer, pointed out that Darwinism tended to make God superfluous. Not salvation but self-help, not freedom from sin but freedom to express the animal nature of man, came to be an acceptable way of life for many Germans. To this was added the crux of Nietzsche's philosophy: "Since all gods are dead, we will, therefore, that the superman should live."[42]

It was especially this kind of Darwinian-Nietzschean teaching that helped to change the Germany of Luther and the Reformation to the Germany of Hitler and National Socialism. To be sure, Hegel eulogized the state as the highest good, to which the individual must be subordinated, and Marx gloried in a materialistic interpretation of life; but it was Darwin who taught that man's mental and moral characteristics are derived from the animal, and it was Nietzsche who exalted the animal in man into a superman. Such teachings as these served to undermine the belief that man is created in the image of God, and that the life of an individual human being, therefore, is the most sacred and precious thing on earth.[43]

Besides Darwinism and Nietzscheism, Weber also referred to increased interest in mysticism, occultism, and Buddhism. Especially did he refer to the growth of an excessive nationalism and its tendencies toward anti-Semitism. He observed:

> There is a nationalism, even an all-Germanism, which completely ignores and would even uproot the Christian basis of the life of our people and state, and return to Woden religion. The Old Testament, if possible also the New Testament, is to be eliminated from our schools, while people swarm to Richard Wagner's gods and heroes, and the gospel is hardly recognized any more.[44]

Such influences as these were largely responsible for the movements early in the twentieth century, when the word of

God was rejected and large-scale withdrawals from church membership took place. One such movement seemed to have reached a climax before World War I when Kalthoff, a German pastor, boldly denied the historical existence of Jesus and placed a copy of Nietzsche's *Zarathustra* on his pulpit, beside the Bible.

The other wholesale drop in church membership took place after the national collapse of 1918, during the time of the Weimar Republic. Since faith in the power of the gospel had declined, the German people had put their trust in conquering armies and U-boats. Because Christianity did not work a miracle to preserve these idols, many people became completely indifferent to the claims of the church and forsook its teachings and its faith.

By 1921, for example, a quarter of a million members had been lost to the German *Landeskirchen*. These multitudes did not join any other Christian group,[45] but were "tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine."

It is readily understandable, then, why the conditions resulting from apostasy and military defeat, especially the political disorders, the economic sufferings, and the moral despair, led confused individuals to turn anew to pagan sources for inspiration and power to achieve national recovery. But in so doing the Germans committed two evils, as did Israel of old: first, they forsook the Fountain of living waters; and second, they "hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water." Jeremiah 2:13. This hewing out of broken cisterns expressed itself in two distinguishable trends of Germanic neo-paganism: one saw and sought a distinctive German faith with a certain deference to Christianity; the other fundamentally rejected Christ and Christianity.

The distinction between the two was not always clear. Both were hopeless "broken cisterns," for they proceeded on the assumption that all genuine and living religious waters were to be found in the reservoirs of race and nationality. While some cistern hewers tended to emphasize the Germanization of Christianity, others rejected Christianity in its entirety and substituted for it an exclusive Germanic paganism.

The membership in these latter groups was never large. Perhaps the publicity they received exaggerated their actual importance. However, the degree of influence exerted by any group was not necessarily determined by the size of its membership. A small, well-organized group of select members often wielded a greater influence than large organizations of less capable members. Furthermore, these groups, in the main, endorsed the indigenous culture emphasized by Rosenberg's *Der Mythus,* and thus they lent their support to the race and soil concepts of Naziology.

In a well-written brochure, Dr. Walter Kuenneth enumerates twenty-four different religious folk organizations which were functioning in Germany at the time National Socialism was striving for supremacy. The list is astonishingly diversified and paganized.[46] The following are typical of the organizations which he includes: *The Spiritually-Christian Religious Association,* which aimed at the establishment of a German folk church, freed of all Jewish and Jesuit falsifications; *The Nordic Order,* which emphasized religion as a feeling of absolute responsibility in relation to the gods of one's own blood; *Germanic Christianity,* which advocated a cosmic pantheism as a means of achieving a golden era on earth; *The Federation of a German World View,* which sought to spread Germanic views of God and of the world; *The Society for German Revival,* which pointed out the evils of Semitic influences and stressed the virtues of the German folkic way of life; and *The Church of the Sun,* which aimed to defend the native gods of Germany.

Prominent in Kuenneth's list was also the somewhat exclusive but influential *House of Ludendorff,* of which General Eric Ludendorff and his wife, Mathilda, were the leaders. Besides fighting the supranational organizations of Jews, Freemasons, Marxists, and Jesuits, this group advocated that the revelation made through the apostles and prophets be put aside, and the voice of the divine in the blood be set in its place. The Ludendorff religion was pantheistic, naturalistic, humanistic, and ultimately atheistic. More definitely than most other folk organizations it denounced the Old Testament as racially foreign, and Paul as a Jewish rabbi. Sin was an offense against the blood and not against the Holy Ghost. The Nordic man must develop his own strength and not depend on the grace of God for salvation. Mathilda Ludendorff's teaching, in particular, viewed Christianity as a mental disease. Therefore she emphasized salvation from Jesus Christ, as the title of one of her books indicated, and a return to the native religion of the Nordic soul as the sacred source of German power. Although the Ludendorffs met with frequent opposition, the influence of their circle was perhaps greater than that of any other anti-Christian group.[47]

The foregoing organizations are representative of numerous other groups whose chief concern was the cultivation of a distinctive Germanism as a means to restore the native strength of the fatherland. Among the more important groups not mentioned by Kuenneth were: *The League of Free Religious Groups in Germany, The League of Eagles and Hawks,* and *The Köngener League.*[48]

The latter was of special importance, as a kind of successor to the *Wandervögel* (Birds of Passage), an earlier German youth movement which had collapsed during the first world war. Professor Wilhelm Hauer, whose influence will be mentioned again later, served as leader of this new organization. He was also editor of *The Coming Church,* their chief literary organ. The league protested against traditional religion and dogmatic narrowness, in place of which it sought a revelation of God in nature and in life's practical experiences.

Besides Rosenberg, the Ludendorffs, and the somewhat lesser personalities who have been mentioned, there were several other outstanding leaders who were definitely influential in the German faith currents, which became increasingly stronger with the rapid rise and ultimate victory of National Socialism.

One of the best-known of these was Ernst Bergmann, professor of philosophy in the University of Leipzig. In his disregard for the fundamentals of Christianity he had much in common with Rosenberg and Mathilda Ludendorff. His book, *The German National Church,* proclaims a German theology free from Christ and emphasizes a kind of anthropological and subjective concept of the Deity. "Only then is man a complete man," he maintains, "when he himself strives, albeit falteringly, to be God and godlike—all-wise, all-mighty, and all-good."[49] Nietzschelike, he draws the conclusion that the Christian religion is an error and a real tragedy to mankind, and that whoever rejects God and Christ, returns to that better form of religion and morality which is to be found in the eternal and holy of the natural order of things. The book is an expansion of the author's famous *Twenty-Five Theses of the German Religion,* the theses being explicitly listed in a separate volume with added explanations for each of them.[50]

These twenty-five theses may be regarded as Bergmann's personal confession of faith, yet with certain modifications they may also be taken as a general expression of the entire German Faith Movement. They form a key document which throws considerable light on the ideas entertained by those who were seeking for a more satisfying faith than that which they thought possible in the regular churches.

In the introduction Bergmann says, "The German today needs two things: truth and iron." This is followed by a contention from Friedrich Schleiermacher: "He has no religion, who believes in a holy writ; but rather he has religion who has no need of a holy writ, yet could produce one." The second part of the book is introduced by an assertion from Angelus Silesius: "I am as big as God is; He is as small as I am. He cannot be above me; I cannot be under Him." The third division is prefaced by Ernst Arndt's observation: "The God who created iron did not want slaves." And the last section again quotes Silesius: "Stop! Where are you going? Heaven is within you. If you seek God elsewhere you fail Him for ever and ever."

According to these twenty-five theses, the Christian ideas about sin, guilt, and repentance are not genuine religious sentiments. They are artificially created products of the human imagination.

The positive religion of the German, on the other hand, springs naturally and vitally from his intuition, his feeling, and his thoughts. Its ethics rests on three ancient German virtues: bravery, chivalry, and fidelity. Whoever belongs to it is not a slave of God but lord of the divine within him. However, the chief concern of this Germanic religion is not the blessedness of the individual, but the welfare of the people as a whole.

In his thesis-by-thesis explanation Bergmann emphasizes the idea that a new religious reformation is imperative in the life of the German people. While Luther liberated the Germans only from the international papal idea, this new reformation was to liberate the German church entirely from the Christian idea, which had been forced on them by Charlemagne, the butcher of the Saxons. In the first place, this alien religion had its origin among a worn-out and confused type of humanity; and in the second place, it was sealed up in stolid and life-destroying dogmas which only hindered the welling up of the native spiritual depths of the people. There was need of a return to "a happy religion of right conduct," as Fichte phrased it. This form of religion would be free of dogma. It would be a Wodenlike, knowledge-seeking religion in which body and spirit are fed in sunlight and fresh air and the soul uplifted by a contemplation of the divine in nature and in man.

Bergmann thinks of *Wotanskult* as having special symbolic value, and he expresses appreciation of the description by Tacitus where the deity among the early Germans was honored in open nature, on holy hills, and under holy trees. Indeed, true religion is inherent in the cosmos and nature, in blood and soil, in mother instinct and love of fatherland.

Adopting the idea of the Linda mythology, he sets forth the female principle as to the origin of the idea of divinity, and asks if the one-sided masculine view of God, characteristic of the Semitic and Christian religion, can satisfy human yearning. Man is a child, he contends, and yearns for a mother goddess.

For Germans the word of God echoes clearly within their hearts, where, indeed, the "Third Testament" is written, as was pointed out by Master Eckhart. This "Third Testament" is not derived from Jewish sources, which, Bergmann says, superstitiously point to a personal God and lay stress on revelation and the need of salvation.

The dual concept of world and God is entirely un-German, even as it is contrary to all Indo-Germanic religions. According to these religions, "Man created God in his image, in the image of man created he Him." This completely obviates the concept of the total depravity of human nature. Forsooth, the greatest sin of mankind is the Jewish-Christian belief in sin. The heroic man, as characterized by Fichte and Goethe, while accepting all the intensity of the moral battle, at the same time is conscious of the power of will and victory.

The closing sentence of Bergmann's treatise may be accepted as having been ironically prophetic. It reads as follows: "The German church will either be a united church of people, Reich, and state, on a German-religious basis, or it will be none at all."[51]

Three other important figures who influenced the German Faith Movement were Dr. Herman Wirth, Count Ernst Reventlow, and Professor Wilhelm Hauer.

Wirth, like Mathilda Ludendorff and Rosenberg, stressed race as the all-important factor in giving characteristic form to the economic, political, mental, and spiritual life of a people. Like Bergmann, he arrived at the conclusion that God dwells within man, and that therefore his innermost being is good by nature. But while Mathilda Ludendorff, Rosenberg, and Bergmann were averse to Christianity, Wirth saw Aryan qualities in Christ's spiritual heritage and held that his views were in harmony with essential Christian teachings.[52]

According to Count Reventlow, religion is an area peculiar to itself, in which neither dogmas nor science is of much value.

Instead, religion is something to be sought by sentiment. An individual must feel his weakness and imperfection and must wish to become more perfect. This yearning for goodness will lead to an expression of the deepest and highest spiritual values of man.

A Germanic folk faith, he believed, would unite the German people and deliver them from the mental and moral confusion of Marxian materialism. However, Count Reventlow did not wish a German faith in place of a stamped-out Christianity, but rather sought to place it alongside Christianity and on an equality with it. In this respect he had much in common with Wirth, but was quite unlike Rosenberg and Bergmann.[53]

Perhaps the most outstanding leader of the German Faith Movement was the Sanskrit scholar and professor of comparative religion, Wilhelm Hauer, of Tübingen. As a nineteen-year-old student at the Mission Seminary at Basel he discovered, so he says, not Jesus Christ as the way of truth in his inner life, but rather the German and Greek classicists: Schiller, Nietzsche, Socrates, and Plato. According to his own testimony he became a heretic in the midst of a Christian environment, whereupon the well-meaning director of the seminary arranged to send him to India for missionary and educational work, in the hope that young Hauer might there find Christ "in the service of his Lord." "However," Hauer explains, "I found, not Christ, but Indo-Aryan wisdom. . . . At last I had to recognize that in reality I had never been a Christian, even though for a long time I had meant to be one."[54] After four years in India he returned and was given a chair at the University of Tübingen. He had been much influenced by Indian religions, and he taught that the state, law, science, morality, and religion are products of the soul of a race. Even as there is no one best state, no absolute morality, no finished science, so there is no one true religion. To Hauer, God is more of a natural working force in the world than a spiritual Being that stands above the world. God is also pantheistic and cosmic in nature, not theocratically and morally spiritual.[55]

One of Hauer's chief literary productions was *The German View of God.* His outstanding periodical was *German Faith.* Recognized as an authority for his philological studies in the field of religion, he also showed himself able to penetrate to the psychological heart of religious experience. The deeply pietistic training of his youth never fully left him, despite his aloofness from Christianity. Ultimately, however, he found the Protestant church so uncongenial that he withdrew from its membership. During the religious awakening that accompanied the national revival he assumed leadership over many others who, like him, sought a more dynamic faith.[56]

The religious situation in Germany during the early 1930's cannot be fully understood without reference to the national revolution. The many movements toward evolving a national religion synchronized with Nazi polity. They were by-products as well as stimuli of that theory of government. Accordingly, the ideological forces of National Socialism calling for unification and unchallenged leadership made their impact upon religious circles as well. They, too, came to feel the need of a closer working arrangement.

Thus on June 29 and 30, 1933, Hauer called for a meeting at Eisenach of all groups interested in German faith. In harmony with the revolution in political affairs he hoped to bring the different German faith organizations into a more effective working unity. Several of the chief groups listed above, along with many others, were represented at this meeting. Important personages present, besides Hauer, included Bergmann, Count Reventlow, and Wirth. While the diversity of interests thus represented made a well-unified organization impossible, nevertheless the Working Association of the German Faith Movement was founded. Hauer was chosen leader, and the following confession was drawn up:

> The followers of a German faith, men and women assembled in Eisenach, take their stand with the Fuehrer on the basis of the Third Reich and turn to him in matters of earnest conscience needs.
>
> We take our stand on a German faith which draws its power from the

> religious heritage of the German people, whose creative religious power has remained alive for more than a thousand years, even to this day.
>
> Conscious of our German origin and rooted in godly reality, we unitedly profess before our people to bear the duty and responsibility of a German-born faith.[57]

The closing paragraphs expressed the hope that this movement would receive official recognition and that its adherents would be granted the privilege of exercising their faith freely in Germany.

The organization agreed not to attack the Christian churches, but rather to demand that the faith movement be given a position of equality with the Christian churches. This point of view was especially stressed by Hauer and Count Reventlow. Subsequent developments, however, soon showed clearly that such a fundamental position could not be maintained in so heterogeneous a group. Its fate was decided on the question of its attitude toward the Christian churches.[58]

In a few months such leaders as Bergmann and Wirth left the organization, as did several entire groups. At a meeting held at Scharzfeld, May 18-23, 1934, Hauer's original organization was dissolved. The groups that still remained were then formed into the better integrated organization known as the German Faith Movement. Its leadership was again given to Hauer, with Count Reventlow as deputy leader. Henceforth all membership was to be limited to Aryans, and no member could be a member of the existing churches. The insigne chosen by the group was symbolic, a golden circle of the sun on a blue background.[59]

Thus a religious faith which distinctly avowed a new German paganism grew into the Third Confession within the Third Reich. Such Nazi leaders as Rosenberg, supervisor of National Socialist training, and Baldur von Schirach, head of the Hitler Youth, had a sympathetic interest in this group.

The following seven questions and answers issued by the German Faith Movement give additional information regarding their teachings:

1. *What does the German Faith Movement desire?*

A German faith true to type and free from all alien influences, such a faith as has been intuitively perceived by German leaders and kings, poets, and thinkers throughout the ages.

The freeing of our religious life from forms and ideas that originated in an Eastern and, to us, strange world.

A German faith as opposed to the religion of mankind, the belief in revelation, and redemption.

After the political unity of our nation, unity in faith.

2. *What is German faith?*

Belief in the all-working—in the eternally dying and becoming—in the eternal character and idea of our nation. Faith in what is strong and brave, noble and heroic in our world.

We are not godless, we are not freethinkers and worshipers of Woden. Neither are our gods people and race, blood and soil. But we know that these factors determine our faith, which for this reason can only be a German one.

We desire a faith which is not behind the times, anchored in rigid dogmas, but a faith corresponding to the knowledge and feelings of our age and our life today.

3. *What do we understand by God?*

God cannot be portrayed.

We do not boast of having discerned the sources of life and existence, or of being able to explain the same in any material way, neither do we make any statements or form any conjectures regarding these points.

We perceive God in the phenomena of the visible world, in the growth and decay of nature.

We feel God in all the movements of the invisible world, in all the stirrings of our souls, of our spirits, and of our hearts.

4. *How shall we form German faith?*

With our whole lives. German faith must find expression in deed and thought. We desire positive faith, not eyeservice.

We give form to German faith in celebrations and festivals on the great feast days of our natural and national life, when the great personalities of our nation speak to us of God and the world.

The morning celebration, the evening hour, the family festival, and meetings for religious discussions will make German faith real.

In the consecration of names, consecration of youth, hallowing of marriage, ceremonies for the dead, we shall celebrate the high feast days of life.

5. *Is a German faith necessary?*

A German faith movement is necessary for reasons of sincerity on the part of millions who are Christians in name only, who have long since alienated themselves inwardly from the church and will come to us.

The faith movement is necessary as a German faith movement in order to check the influence upon German citizens of international Christianity. It is quite impossible for a German to follow with all his heart German leaders, poets, and thinkers, and in matters pertaining to the soul to have to submit to alien ideas and principles.

The German Faith Movement is necessary to oppose the division of our nation into various confessions of faith, the existence of which has caused unspeakable harm for centuries. Once we have become one Reich and one people, we must also become united in faith.

6. *What is our attitude toward the state?*

We support entirely the principles and demands of the National Socialistic state; indeed, we see in the successful National Socialistic revolution the preliminary condition for a successful fight for our free German faith.

Leading National Socialists are adherents of our faith movement. A goodly number of our membership are party members—members of SA and SS.

7. *What is our attitude toward Christianity?*

We deny Christianity in its Eastern forms of belief, its faith in the Bible, the effects it has had on history, and its political intentions. We hate neither Christians nor those of other persuasions. We desire to live according to our faith for our nation, and to speak of that faith to those who already belong to us or are on the way to us. We respect every man's faith as long as it is not in any way opposed to people and state. We do not wish to make converts or to slander or to suspect others. We are against a *Kulturkampf*.

Come to us, all German seekers after God—all adherents of the German faith! [60]

The followers of the German Faith Movement were estimated at about six million.[61] It is noteworthy that for a time, after the middle of 1933, certain ones of this group became rather critical of the position and program of the German Christians, who represented the interests of the Nazi Party within the Protestant church and with whom, in a way, the German faith groups were in rivalry on points of religion and politics. Especially did Count Reventlow rebuke the "church-political terror" of the aggressive German Christians.[62] In this way he gave incidental support to the more conservative Confessional Christians within the church who also stood in opposition to the German Christians.[63]

Notwithstanding the measure of success which attended the reorganized German Faith Movement, severe tension and conflict continued over matters of policy and procedure. In the spring of 1936 both Hauer and Count Reventlow resigned their leadership and left the movement. Instead of merely negative anti-Christian propaganda they sought to create a new religious spirit. This did not seem possible among so many elements which were excessively hostile toward Christianity.

After the withdrawal of these two more conservative leaders the position of the movement became unstable and uncertain. In the fall of 1936 a further crisis developed, with more withdrawals. Some of the more radical elements left. After this second shake-up, another reorganization was effected, and propaganda activities were renewed on an enlarged and more intensive basis. The following statements are typical of their newly announced principles and objectives:

> Foremost is the aim of achieving unity among the German people by means of distinctive German faith. The basis of this faith is the Nordic race and the nationality that has been determined by it. Hence, for healthy Germans, German faith is inherent in the blood, which can only develop in a racial community. The highest aim of German faith is to maintain Germanism and make it function in every sphere of life. This faith is not believed confessionally, but is lived as an unselfish act.
>
> The worth of the German faith is implicit in soil, blood, and honor. Holy to German belief is birth, not baptism; marriage, not the blessing of a priest; people, not the church; godliness, not articles of faith. The German faith rejects Christianity in every form, because its basic demands are contrary to the laws of life of people and race, and it is alien to the German way of life. It aims at a revival of the religious honor of our pre-Christian ancestors, because their honor is German honor. It fights against priestcraft and their claims upon the souls of racial comrades and against every misuse of service based on compulsion of faith. It fights especially against the accusation that nonmembership in a

church is evidence of lack of patriotism. Every activity of the German faith is to be determined by the needs of the German people and the National Socialist state.[64]

Notwithstanding its vicissitudes this movement persisted in the Third Reich and made its influence felt throughout Germany. It was loyal in its support of National Socialism, whose policies on people, race, and soil had much in common with the German faith.

Other German Faith Organizations

As already indicated, there were many other German faith organizations during the early 1930's, besides the various groups included in the German Faith Movement, which has been discussed above. In number and nomenclature they were about as prolific and diversified as the agencies of the New Deal in the United States, which multiplied so rapidly at about the same time.

These other German faith organizations were somewhat fluid, and they frequently overlapped in their principles and objectives. Only a few of the more important ones need special mention here.

In contrast to the larger German Faith Movement, the Nordic Faith Movement was not a popular one. It was more of an exclusive and aristocratic society. Its members disdained to use excitable propaganda to captivate the masses. Its aim was to have trustworthy members who were intelligent in reference to the tenets of the Nordic belief. Exact membership figures are not available, but they appear never to have reached more than a few thousand. Unlike most other German faith persuasions, this group anchored itself to a twenty-seven-point confession of faith which was to be lived positively according to the godly, moral, and folkic principles of the Nordic race. No part of the program called for an attack upon the churches.[65]

The Nordic Faith Movement put great emphasis on ceremonies and dedications. In its public work it sponsored a program known as Nordic Action, in emulation of the Folkic

Action and German Action sponsored by other groups. The obvious aim was to indoctrinate the people of Nordic extraction with Nordic faith and Nordic concepts. While the members of this group held themselves strictly aloof from the Ludendorff circle, they co-operated rather closely with a group known as the Fellowship of Germanic Faith.

This fellowship was one of the oldest of the German faith movements. Membership was limited to those of German blood who were not members of other religious bodies. It had no separate organ, but the *Nordic Newspaper* served in part as its literary expression. After 1936 there was a close-working unity between this group and the Nordic Faith Movement. No exact membership figures are available for this group either, but it appears that the organization had few followers compared to the Nordic Faith Movement.[66]

The Fellowship of German Religion was yet another German faith organization. The character of this group can be estimated by the following statements of its program:

> We are no sect and do not wish to become one. We do not advocate new teachings of faith lest we replace the fables of others with our own. . . . The riddle of the universe cannot be solved. For this reason no member is asked what he believes about God or whether he believes in God at all. To be German-believing means to believe in the German way. Whoever believes in the German-ness that is in his blood, and considers it his task to realize this German-ness in his life, whoever endeavors to awaken in himself to full life and action that Siegfried who resides in every German man, has a liberating faith in himself. He no longer needs a mediator, because he is in no need of salvation.
>
> We have just one faith; namely, that we know ourselves to have been born of the eternal German people, and with this German origin goes responsibility and accountability to the original sources of our power for the present, for the future, and for all time and eternity.[67]

In addition to the organizations that have been named, many semi-independent publications, journals, and newspapers were also engaged in the fight for a German faith, directed against Christianity, Judaism, and Bolshevism.

Among the more substantial publications were those of the

Germanists, whose prehistoric research lent scholarly support to the suppositions of a pre-Christian religion.

Among the more popular and inflammatory journals and newspapers were the following: *Der Blitz* (*Lightning*), *Nordland* (*Northland*), *Flammenzeichen* (*Sign of the Flame*), *Deutsche Volkschöpfung* (*German People's Creation*), *Deutsche Freiheit* (*German Freedom*), *Der Hammer* (*The Hammer*), *Der Juden Kenner* (*Judge of Jews*), and *Der Stürmer* (*The Assailant*). The latter was edited by Julius Streicher and was fanatically anti-Semitic.

The Attitude of the Nazis and the Churches Toward Neopagan Activities

It is not to be understood that the Nazis themselves approved all this literary output, for state authorities often suppressed certain publications, such as *Der Blitz* and *Der Juden Kenner*. The reason for such negative attitude toward some of the instruments of Germanic faith appears to have been, at least partially, in response to protest registered by leaders and groups of the Christian churches. Furthermore, too many of these groups fostering the German faith demanded the right of independent organization at a time when unification in all spheres was earnestly sought by the government. Above all, the Nazis doubtless thought that they themselves were quite capable of realizing certain essential ends of neopaganism, such as deification of race and nation, and idolization of the will of the Fuehrer. That they achieved this purpose on a somewhat more persistent and better integrated basis than all the private groups may well be granted.

In 1935 the leaders of the German Evangelical Church felt constrained to make the following pronouncement in reference to neopaganism:

> 1. The folkic religious movement manifests itself in the most diversified groups and trends, beginning with the federation of the German church, then over to the faith movement by Dr. Artur Dinter and Professor Hauer, and finally on to Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* and the racial

groups which cluster about the House of Ludendorff and the periodicals of the Nordland press.

2. Varied as these trends may be in respect to leaders, program, and organization, they are all united in their antichurch and anti-Christian tendencies and objectives.

3. The folkic religion rejects every special revelation of God as presented in the word of the apostles and prophets. Instead, it believes it can discern the voice of God in the blood, in the life of a race, in the rhythm of natural events, and in natural historical developments. Its concept of God is not personal, but pantheistic, naturalistic, and therefore ultimately atheistic.

4. In sum, the nature of folkic neopaganism is determined by the concept of the superior importance of the Nordic race, even as a religion. In consequence, the folkic dogma expresses itself thus: Faith is born of blood. It is necessary, then, to eliminate all alien elements from religious and moral meanings. This singular norm is also to be applied to the message of the Christian church, and, therefore, she, too, is to announce her struggle against everything alien.

5. Accordingly, as a first step, the Old Testament must be rejected as a Jewish book with a Semitic stamp. But for the church the Old and New Testaments are inseparable. It was the word of God for Christ and also for the apostles. Christ is the center of the Old Testament. It belongs to the indispensable foundation of the church.

6. Next, the apostle Paul is condemned as a Jewish rabbi and as a falsifier of the pure teachings of Jesus. However, in harmony with the Reformation message of Luther, the church acknowledges Paul as the apostle of Jesus Christ and as the one who proclaimed the crucified and risen Christ in the fullness of power.

7. In line with the ideas of liberalism and free thought, neopaganism sees in Jesus, at best, a high-ranking person of Aryan descent. The church, however, acknowledges Christ as truly God and truly man, as world Redeemer and world Saviour.

8. The only sin recognized by the Nordic man is the sin against the blood. There is no feeling of sin before a holy God. The Christian feeling of sin, according to Rosenberg, is evidence of physical bastardization.

9. The Nordic man believes in the power of his own race, which rejects every thought of grace as unworthy. The self-salvation of this folkic religion stands in sharpest contrast to the glad tidings of salvation through Christ. For the Christian the cross is not a sign of defeat but of victory.

10. For the pagan man, ethics, too, is determined by the principles of race. But to recognize race as the *summum bonum* is to reject Christian love. Such love is disowned as something soft and weakly. First

Corinthians 13 proclaims genuine love. The message of the church does not destroy the feeling of honor. God freely gives to the Christian, as to His own creation, a new and higher honor.

11. The confusion which comes to the church from such folkic ideas and concepts can only be met effectively when the churches are led anew to a comprehensive and deepened understanding of the Bible and are instructed regarding the truth of the gospel and the errors of the folkic religion by means of well-planned studies.[68]

It will be pointed out more fully later that Catholic authorities in Germany also took exception to the extreme claims of race and nationality of National Socialism even before its victory in 1933. That this also implied opposition to neopaganism in general was well understood.[69]

A widely publicized and able defense of the Old Testament and of Christianity came with Cardinal Faulhaber's advent sermons, delivered in Munich in December, 1933. The cardinal adroitly referred to the false birth certificate that was being given Christ by those who sought to prove that He was of Aryan descent, and he warned that a falling away from Christianity and a lapse into paganism would mean the beginning of the end of the German people.[70]

In referring to the attack upon the Old Testament, he explained that the movement away from Moses did not touch the religious life nerve of the Catholics in the same way that it concerned the Protestants, for Catholics accept church traditions as well as the Bible as the source of their faith, while Protestants accept the Bible alone as the basis of their belief. Nonetheless, he magnified the religious, moral, and social values of the Old Testament and strove to show that it is closely connected with Christianity. The cardinal saw no harm in impartial racial research, but he objected to the use of racial considerations for purposes of self-aggrandizement and anti-Semitic attacks. While race was being used as a means of uniting the people, he did not want his countrymen to forget that Christianity is a means of uniting with God.[71]

The most effective Catholic opposition was voiced by the pope himself on March 14, 1937, when he issued an encyclical beginning with the words: *"Mit brennender Sorge"* ("With deep anxiety"). This document revealed the pontiff's concern over what was happening in Germany. As touching neopaganism, he said:

> He who in pantheistic vagueness equates God with the universe, and identifies God with the world and the world with God, does not belong to believers in God. He who replaces a personal God with a weird impersonal fate supposedly according to ancient pre-Christian concepts, denies the wisdom and providence of God. . . . He who takes race, or the people, or the state, or the form of government . . . out of the system of their earthly valuation, and makes them the ultimate norm of all, even of religious values, and deifies them with an idolatrous worship, perverts and falsifies the order of things created and commended by God. . . . Our God is the personal, superhuman, almighty, infinitely perfect God. Only superficial minds can lapse into the heresy of speaking of a national God and of a national religion. Only such can make the mad attempt of trying to confine within the boundaries of a single people, within the narrow blood stream of a single race, God the Creator of the world, the King and Lawgiver of all peoples, before whose greatness all peoples are small as a drop of a bucket.[72]

The struggle between Christian forces and neopaganism continued after this manner until 1941, when Christendom was moved to increased apprehension by the announcement of a special thirty-point national church plan which threatened the Christian churches in Germany with what appeared to be a paganish *coup d'état.*

This unchristian church program was printed in the columns of the New York *Times,* January 3, 1942, as a document which had then been released for publication by Rosenberg. About the same time it was also published in *Zionspilger,* a well-known religious journal of Switzerland.[73]

The origin and authenticity of this document will probably be a moot question for some time to come. Its wording, however, is clear.

According to this thirty-point program, a national church was to be established with sole right and sole power over all churches within the Reich and its colonies. This church was to serve the state, and all church orators were to be state officials. The crucifix, the Bible, and all holy pictures were to be banned; instead, the altars were to be adorned with a sword and a copy of *Mein Kampf*.

In this national church there was to be no forgiveness of sin, and the customary day of prayer and atonement was to be rejected. Not christening but proved Aryan descent was to be the important consideration in the life of a newly born child.

Instead of the cross, the swastika was to become the only unconquerable symbol of Germany. While the national church would not force anyone to belong to that church, nevertheless it was ready to do all within its power to gain possession of the last German soul.

Regardless of questions as to its origin, and quite apart from any considerations as to the authenticity of the thirty-point church program, this much is certain: It is a fairly accurate statement of the religious objectives that were advocated by such leaders as Rosenberg and Bergmann. It is a rather full expression of certain neopagan trends which were revived in Germany after the defeat of World War I and greatly augmented before the defeat of World War II.

To what extent the repudiation of, or the movement away from, Christianity was responsible for the Nazi failure may be a highly speculative question for some. Sober truth, however, leads one to conclude that this second defeat of Germany was not the result of a stab in the back by weak-kneed pacifists or alien internationalists. This latest tragedy of Germany was doubtless hastened by a thrust at the front—the front of Christian faith—directed by a heroic form of paganized Aryanism ironically bearing the stamp, "Made in Germany."

~ 6 ~

Catholicism and Nazism

TOWARD the close of 1933 the threat to establish a national church in Germany free of Semitic taint and distinctly Teutonic had become a grave danger. The Catholic Church, furthermore, had come into disagreement with the new government over fundamental questions of church-state relations. The deep undercurrents of revolt in Catholic circles definitely came to the surface in December, 1933, when Cardinal Faulhaber preached a course of sermons on the Old Testament at St. Michael's Church in Munich. These sermons have already been referred to. They were later published under the title, *Judaism, Christianity, Germanism.*

This Catholic churchman contended that the grace of God had not saved Germany from Russian paganism in order to let the nation fall into a Germanic paganism. "We shall not let the oaks of Donar," he asserted, "be planted in place of the cross."[1]

The cardinal's defense of the Old Testament and his endeavors to dispel false conceptions regarding the origin of the German race were regarded by the Nazis and their sympathizers as aimed at hindering the national awakening and destroying the young Reich.

In their determination to win and maintain control of the newly created Reich the Nazis often used drastic measures. Eight months earlier, Jewish works had been consigned to the flames under the direction of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, head of the Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Although Nazi speakers repeatedly expressed the idea in public meetings that their fight was not only against Judaism but also against Rome, a concordat between the Holy See and the Reich had been negotiated two months after the book-burning episode. Disagreements between Catholicism and Nazism continued, notwithstanding. Cardinal Faulhaber's sermons constituted only one of a series of church pronouncements against Nazi claims, and they were singularly effective in cutting into the Nazi racial suppositions. In fact, they made such a deep impression upon the German people that their further distribution was interfered with by Nazi organizations. Meanwhile, the church placed Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* on the Index of forbidden books. It was a reciprocal biblioclasm, but without a public fire this time.

Especially were certain circles of German faith offended by the cardinal's arguments, and their response was immediate and prolific. Dr. Johann von Leers, a prominent Germanist and the editor of the *Nordic World,* wrote a typical answer, entitled, *The Cardinal and the Germans.* A brief summary of this work will reveal the thinking that was prevalent among the more scholarly neopagan groups, and it will also serve as historical background and interpretation for a better understanding of the struggle between Catholicism and Nazism.

It was not a question of simply returning to ancient paganism, Von Leers maintained, but rather an endeavor to recapture distinctive religious values of both historic and prehistoric times. He contended that Cardinal Faulhaber erred in basing all his conclusions on the *Germania* by Tacitus, according to which there was no pre-Christian culture. The Icelandic sagas reveal a dogma-free religion which recognized a great destiny and an order of God in the world. This kind of religion brought about such a high standard of morality among the Germans that even the admiration of the Romans was won by it. No inherited sin was recognized. Instead, the ancient Germans were proud of their heritage as a strong, blood-pure race. This religion, as revealed in the Eddas, must be understood in some such way as devout Catholics interpret Dante's *Divine Comedy.*

According to Von Leers, the introduction of Christianity into Germany was an error. The Saxons fought against it for thirty years; but ultimately their native religion was drowned in blood, and they were left without a home for their soul. The Germanist writer asks whether it is a fault or a sin to live according to this ancient faith. No one thinks of awakening the dead Woden and other gods, he insisted. They were merely outward expressions of the eternal piety of the German race. No cardinal has a right to deny the Germans this Nordic piety. This is a German country in which each has a right to seek his salvation according to the dictates of his own conscience without being branded a heretic.

The Arian form of Christianity accepted by the Goths, Vandals, Lombards, and Burgundians made them heretics—and they received the heretics' reward. The Franks accepted Christianity in the Athanasian form for political reasons. In all cases Christianity was accepted superficially.

All this was changed when Boniface, a fanatical and willful organizer, received the permission of Pope Gregory (719) to convert the Germans, after he had failed in his mission to the Frisians. The felling of the Donar oak, along with the destruction of the places of worship, was the opening of the first religious struggle.

Von Leers attempted to prove that Christianity was not brought to the Germans as glad tidings from the circle of poor shepherds, but that it came to them from the mighty in terms of power politics. Boniface, whose effective personality made him a strong organizer, forced conversion upon the German tribes. Charles the Great continued this work of cutting off a living people at their roots. The hatred thus engendered by this destroyer of souls has never entirely disappeared.

Subsequently, Von Leers continued, the monopoly of song, poetry, and history was placed in the hands of monks and priests. Forced into spiritual silence, the people fell into the iron clutches of the Romanizing church. For centuries thereafter Christianity extirpated all other religions, without mercy.

This form of Christianization by force brought about a break in the cultural development of the people and separated them from their basic Germanism.

Von Leers further stated that Luther attempted to free the Germans from the domination of dogmas, only to develop other dogmas which tied the conscience to the Old and New Testaments. Hence Luther did not lead the Germans into the land of a distinctive, Aryan, Nordic belief, but rather into the land of Canaan. This was not the home of the ancient Germanic fathers and martyrs who lie buried in the graves of Germany's own hillsides and eternal forests. It was the land of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Abraham lied twice about his wife, and Jacob cheated his brother out of the birthright. Especially offensive to Von Leers was the Jewish teaching of inherited sin, and their chosen-race concept. Such ancestors of Christianity, he maintained, are intolerable to a great number of the German people. Furthermore, Germans reject every attempt at domination and compulsion in things religious. If he so wishes, let the German adopt the religion of his own home and his own soul, and do not force him to take the road to Palestine. Above all, spare him the danger of having his soul become Judaized.

The *Hakenkreuz,* the old symbol of returning light, does not stand for compulsion and persecution in matters of faith. Von Leers warned, however, that the cardinal should be careful in attacking and misrepresenting Germanic faith lest he release the hidden and accumulated bitterness of that erstwhile rugged faith. Extending from stone graves and going beyond the domes of today, German realities constitute a great moving power, he averred.

The Germanist writer gave credit to the Catholic Church for retaining many of the usages of the ancient Germans, a procedure which, he said, was made possible by the fact that the church accepts not only the Bible, but tradition also, as being of binding value. The use of the Christmas tree, the worship of Mary, and the adoration of saints are cited as a few of the many Christian adaptations of pagan customs which were accepted for the benefit of Germans who had been converted to Christianity.

The religious heritage that came from Germanic forebears appeared to Von Leers lovelier and more worthy than any contribution of the Old Testament. In German history he found such a beautiful world of ideas—a battle between light and darkness, a simple and loyal relation of man to God, a conscious feeling of nobility—that it would be ill-advised to forgo its use in the education of the German people.

In conclusion, Von Leers emphasized that no one has a right to awaken enmities which can nowhere be more destructive than among the Germans who are accustomed to attack things at the root. He appealed to His Eminence that he leave the German dead in peace and that he not seek to use force where he knows he cannot win. No one should interfere with the return of the German people to the joyful soul heritage that was created during thousands of years, even in pre-Christian times. Let there be an end of the evil tradition of religious wars, he exhorted, for over all is the Reich which unites the Germans in all truly religious questions.[2]

Thus Von Leers gives the impression that he regarded the Middle Ages as an almost lamentable interlude between original German paganism and the rise of National Socialism. It must be conceded that much of what he says about medieval Christianity is true, and explains why the Reformation took place in Germany. Yet Von Leers's bias toward Germanism shows that the real issues went deeper than mere politics growing out of age-old church-state struggles. They concerned underlying spiritual forces as well.

It cannot be said that this Germanist spoke officially for National Socialism, yet he lauded pre-Christian German paganism and depreciated established Christianity in a manner quite acceptable to some of the leading Naziologists. Practically every point he emphasized is corroborated in Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus*.[3] Hence it may be said that this treatise by Von Leers was not only an expression of certain neopagan groups, but that in a general way it also bore the ideological stamp of important elements within the Nazi party itself.

Cardinal Faulhaber and Von Leers were not the first ones to disagree over points of belief and interpretation. Catholicism and Nazism had come into conflict before neopaganism had become so serious a threat or Hitler had assumed power.

When, in 1930, National Socialism won its first significant success at the polls, several Catholic ecclesiastical leaders in Germany pronounced it a danger to certain beliefs and principles of their church.

Dr. Mayer, vicar-general of the diocesan chancery office in Mainz, for illustration, announced in a letter that any Catholic who professed the principles of Hitler's party could not be admitted to the sacraments.[4]

By no means did the opposition in Mainz remain an isolated case. By March, 1931, all three German cardinals had declared their official opposition to the Hitler movement. Soon bishop after bishop joined the episcopal chorus of warnings until the German Catholic hierarchy was virtually unanimous in opposition to Hitler, two years before his assumption of power.[5]

But this opposition did not remain constant. It tended to fluctuate with the changing fortunes of Hitlerism.

Hitler himself was a baptized Catholic and was politically astute, so it is unlikely that he deliberately sought to put himself into direct opposition to the Roman Church, against which even Bismarck could not prevail.

It is apparent, however, that Hitler as a politician, like Bismarck, took exceptions to what he interpreted as political activities of churchmen in Germany. In *Mein Kampf* he points out that the responsibility for unsatisfactory religious conditions lay with those who burden the religious conception too much with worldly things. He protested specifically against the misuse which was afflicted on Christianity by a so-called Christian party and the impudence with which some tried to identify the Catholic faith with a political party.[6]

Without doubt, Hitler here referred to the activities of the

Center Party, the official spokesmen for which were often priests and prelates. Yet not all Catholic leaders were opposed by Hitler nor were they all aligned against him. The present pope, then Cardinal Pacelli, was stationed in Munich from 1917 to 1925 and saw the early development of the Nazi movement, and he was in Berlin from 1925 to 1929 and watched its rise to power. He knows Germans and Germany thoroughly. As papal secretary of state he signed the concordat, July 20, 1933, between the Holy See and the German Reich, while Franz von Papen, a papal chamberlain, then vice-chancellor under Hitler, signed for the German Reich. Thyssen, a Catholic industrialist, may have exaggerated when he said, "Pacelli put Hitler in power;"[7] but it is no exaggeration to say that Hitler had some supporters among Catholic churchmen.

There were some priests who favored the cause of National Socialism even after the bishops had taken their decided stand against it, and Hitler was on terms of intimate friendship with several of them. One such was Abbot Alban Schachleitner, former head of the Emmaus Cloister in Prague, from which place he had been driven during the Czechoslovakian revolution after 1918. Konrad Heiden speaks of him as an example of German national dynamite, and as one whose faith in his people possibly overshadowed his faith in his Saviour.[8] Heiden indicates further that Hitler still went to confession and communion in 1918, and that even later he received the sacraments from the hands of this Nazi abbot.

In an article of the *Völkischer Beobachter,* Hitler's own newspaper, Abbot Schachleitner took his position in favor of National Socialism and thereby put himself in contradiction to the whole German episcopate, which had warned against National Socialism. Because of his unwillingness to heed his superiors, he was subsequently deprived of permission to say mass. However, when Hitler had become chancellor he called on him in the small Bavarian village where he lived and gave assurance that the wrong done him would be made right.[9]

Although Hitler's cause was supported by churchmen like

Abbot Schachleitner, the hierarchy itself held that the cultural policies of National Socialism were incompatible with Catholic Christianity. In order to safeguard their flocks and make their position clear, they voiced their objections in a number of pastoral letters.

According to these letters the Nazi movement was deemed to be not only a political party, but also a way of life—a *Weltanschauung*. It took a stand on religion and made demands in regard to things religious. It contained heresies in its cultural-political program, since it rejected and misinterpreted essential doctrines of Catholic faith and intended to substitute a new world order for the Christian faith. Leading representatives of National Socialism put race above religion. They rejected the revelations of the Old Testament and even the Mosaic Ten Commandments because they were Jewish. They denied the primacy of the pope on the ground that he was a non-German authority. According to point 24 of the party program, the eternally valid Christian moral code was to be tested by the ethical and moral sentiments of the Germanic race. The Nazi ideas of the right of revolution if successful, and of might before right, were opposed to the Christian doctrine of society. National Socialists also played with the idea of a German national church without dogmas. The church, however, is one; it is international, universal, and catholic, and is not limited by national frontiers. Its teaching is determined by its own authority, under divine guidance, and not by state law or the sentiments of a race. National Socialism exaggerated nationalism and exalted one race above others. Fanatical nationalism is always a source of mutual contempt and hatred among nations; it destroys the supernatural ties that are to unite all as children of the same church. As guardians of the teachings of the church in regard to faith and morals, the bishops must warn against Nazism as long and in so far as it pronounced cultural-political beliefs not in accord with Catholicism.[10]

As long as the pope himself had not yet defined the position of the Catholic Church in relation to National Socialism, the bishops felt it their duty to make their own interpretations in this manner. These pronouncements were regarded as official declarations of the ecclesiastical authorities in Germany, binding Catholics in conscience. That they were no idle threats was evidenced by the fact that Gemeinder, a Catholic National Socialist *Gauleiter* (district leader), had to be buried without religious rites.[11]

These restrictions remained in force until the new Reichstag of the historic March 5 election passed the Enabling Act, March 23, 1933, which in effect suspended the Weimar Constitution of 1919 and endowed the Hitler government with dictatorial powers greater than any Bismarck had ever possessed. Henceforth the Hitler cabinet alone was to have the right to enact laws for the Reich. This Enabling Act was euphemistically hailed as "The Law to Combat the Misery of People and Reich."[12]

The Catholic Center Party in the Reichstag, under the leadership of Prelate Ludwig Kaas, voted unanimously for the measure. This must have been pleasing to Abbot Schachleitner. Apparently the Center's vote was given on the basis of a preliminary agreement with Hitler in respect to the security of Catholicism within the Reich.[13]

On the day after the adoption of the Enabling Act, Hitler read his declaration of government policy. A portion of his speech was addressed to the Christian forces in Germany. Everything considered, his words were reassuring. He said that the national government regarded the two Christian Confessions as the weightiest factors for the maintenance of German nationality. Their rights, he assured, would not be infringed upon. Especially did Hitler indicate that the Reich attached the greatest value to friendly relations with the Holy See.[14]

These were conciliatory words for the church, and a forthright statement of the religious policies to be followed by the Third Reich. The Center Party had now received additional assurance that its unanimous vote in favor of the Enabling Act would be honored. The concordats with the individual states of Bavaria in 1924, with Prussia in 1929, and with Baden in 1932 obviously were to be respected; and the fourteen-year-old hope of a concordat between the Holy See and the entire German Reich was given new encouragement.

Furthermore, the Protestant forces, which were also seeking an understanding with the new government at this time, could believe that their interests would be safeguarded as well. However, as Protestant and state churches (*Landeskirchen*), their relation to the Reich posed problems somewhat different from those faced by the Catholic bishops, and therefore called for separate treatment.

Almost immediately after this, the bishops met in conference at Fulda and repealed the prohibitions to which they had agreed two years previously. In a document dated March 29, 1933, they explained their changed position by pointing out that the authoritative leader of National Socialism had duly acknowledged the inviolability of Catholic creedal teaching and the unchangeable tasks and rights of the church, and therefore the prohibitions and warnings regarding the movement need no longer be considered necessary. However, the bishops made it clear that their condemnation of certain religious-moral errors had not been repealed.[15]

This changed position of the bishops is an example of the benevolent attitude of the Catholic Church toward dictatorships that suppress socialist and communist movements and restrict civil liberties, so long as the privileged position of the church is respected. The relationship between the Catholic Church and the dictatorships of Mussolini in Italy, of Dollfuss in Austria, and of Franco in Spain are further illustrations of this policy.

The question may well be raised whether such a policy is based on principle or whether it is one of expediency. Heiden sums up the situation as follows: "The prohibitions and warnings had been issued while the National Socialists were merely marching through the streets and issuing threats; they were withdrawn when thousands were murdered or beaten to a pulp in concentration camps."[16]

This form of opportunism was called into question by the *Völkischer Beobachter* in its issue of March 7, 1933. It pointed out that for ten years the Nazi program had been left unchallenged by the bishops and that it was not until the Nazi Party had become a definite danger to the Catholic Center and Bavarian People's Parties as political organizations that heretical doctrines were discovered in the party and its program. It contended further that the parliamentarians of the Center Party had been the first and the bitterest enemies of the new movement and that the church leaders merely followed in their train.[17]

It soon became apparent that the Center Party's unanimous vote of March 23, giving Hitler dictatorial powers, followed by Hitler's public promises and the bishops' repeal of their prohibitions, would not result in the security the church had expected. On the contrary, conditions became more threatening.

In the ensuing controversy with National Socialism the German hierarchy exhibited its peculiar strength. It represented a branch of an international organization with a non-German head, whose influence was world-wide. This generally helped to give the Catholic Church the advantage of coherence and unity irrespective of the fortunes of political parties or governments. But since some church leaders had identified themselves with political parties in Germany, it was easy for the adversaries of the church to justify their attack upon her. This was not done because of religious Catholicism, which ostensibly was held in high esteem, but because of political Catholicism, which was disputed.

Under the compulsion of the National Socialist revolution, oppressive measures of various kinds soon began to handicap Catholic influence. Newspapers were forbidden, and meetings of Catholic associations were interfered with. Diocesan conventions were prohibited. Several Catholic organizations were dissolved by government decree and their property seized. Lay leaders and priests were arrested and put into jail or concentration camps. Apparently the program of lining up Catholicism with Nazism was to be carried through, even at the hazard of a Kulturkampf.[18]

Hitler's idyllic promises and the bishops' repeal of prohibitions did not produce the harmony hoped for. Consequently, the entire German hierarchy met in deliberation at another conference in Fulda, a city made sacred by Catholic traditions. From here a joint pastoral letter was issued, June 11, 1933, in which the bishops not only stated their attitude, but also put forward demands. The letter was a forceful reminder to the government that the German bishops represented a universal hierarchy and that one third of the German population is Catholic. Many of these 20,000,000 Catholic citizens, it was pointed out, had undoubted loyalty to their church and were willing to undergo another Kulturkampf, if necessary.

In view of the important implications of the revolutionary changes and the ferment of the times, the bishops explicitly declared their stand on fundamental questions of nationalism, and the bearing such questions have upon church loyalty.

While conceding that love of one's country is a matter of duty, the bishops pointed out that at the same time love of all mankind is equally imperative. They consented to the craving for leadership and authority as something normal, and within bounds, conducive to much good, but insisted that the excesses imposed upon Catholic organizations had been an infringement of human liberty. The achievement of political freedom for Germany they approved as a laudable goal, but the spirit of vengeance they regarded as being unchristian. The National Socialist emphasis on physical health for the youth admittedly had definite merits, provided it did not interfere with the interests of the soul. The discrimination against persons of Jewish blood and the wholesale dismissals of non-Nazi government officials were declared an open injustice.

Unity could not be achieved, the bishops warned, by talking about a German church, for while Catholics were proud to call themselves Germans they also were members of the great, holy Catholic Church, whose head on earth is the vicar of Christ, the holy father of Rome. As a perfect and independent society the church stood to receive her competency, not from the will of the state, but from God Himself, and, therefore, she must have freedom to develop in conformity with her mission and nature. It had always been a part of her mission to penetrate the entire life of man. Beginning with the family and extending her influence over the confessional schools, youth organizations, and even adult associations, the church must not be hindered in her supervision of any of these. Recognizing the power of daily papers, the bishops claimed for the Catholic Church the right to possess a Catholic press, and demanded for it that degree of freedom which would make its highly beneficial activity possible.

In conclusion they said, "Firmly rooted in the German soil, but nonetheless firmly in the rock of Peter and of our church, we German bishops and Catholics extend our hands to our other brethren to assist in the reconstruction of our nation."[19]

Rise and Demise of the Center Party
The Kulturkampf: A Comparison With Hitler's Struggles

Important as these declarations were in consolidating Catholic forces and in bringing the church into working relationship with the new Reich, a still more important document was soon to be announced in the form of the concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich, dated July 20, 1933. This agreement confirmed the dissolution of the Center Party, an event which had taken place two weeks before the signing of the concordat.

For the sake of a better understanding of the influence of the Catholic Center Party, a sketch of its origin and history will be helpful.

This party had its beginning in the hectic days of Bismarck's Kulturkampf, which was merely a continuation of the ancient struggle that had filled the pages of history throughout the Middle Ages, the struggle between bishop and king, between pope and emperor. The battles were no longer fought with swords but with words, and the journeys to Canossa were performed, not amid Italian snows, but in the environs of northern Berlin. This struggle, like many of its predecessors, was largely a chronicle of Roman triumph and German defeat. In its endeavor to defend the interests of the Catholic Church, the Center Party played an important role in the conflict.

The membership of the Center Party was not limited to Catholics,[20] nor did it ever draw all the votes of the Catholic citizens. Ultimately, however, it distinguished itself from all other parties in Germany in that its fixed basis was not only political, but also religious. In its policies it was guided on the one hand by the unbending doctrines of Catholicism, and on the other by the changing conditions of political exigencies. It was this opportunist policy regarding political allegiance that often enabled the Center Party to form a majority with the Left against the government, or with the Right for the government, as the case seemed to require. Moreover, in political tactics the Center Party often proved itself quite superior to its political partners, both on the Right and on the Left.

At the very beginning of its history, Bismarck considered it intolerable that the fate of the nation should be influenced so deeply by the tactics of a politico-religious minority; but he soon learned that this new party had the force of something more than a minority party within Germany. It also had the backing of a universal power whose head resided in Rome.

A series of circumstances combined to bring the chancellor of blood and iron into a head-on collision with the Catholic Church. In the first place, the defeat of Catholic Austria in 1866 had determined that henceforth, in the new Reich, the Catholics would be in the minority; for the North German Confederation, established at that time, excluded Austria. Thus the almost entirely Catholic provinces of Austria were debarred. This fact not only had a definite bearing on the attitude of the Catholic population of the new Reich, but it also brought increased anxiety to Pius IX, whose *Syllabus of Errors,* which he issued December 8, 1864, had already placed him in opposition to liberalism and nationalism. In order to strengthen the position of the pope, the Vatican Council promulgated the dogma of papal infallibility, on July 18, 1870, whereby Pius IX was invested with claims as absolute as any exercised by his mighty predecessors in the Middle Ages. This was looked upon with anxiety by many governments of Europe. Bismarck, in particular, interpreted the pronouncement as a direct attack on his own government.

Although there was no direct connection between the two events, war with France was begun the day following the declaration of infallibility. Napoleon III was then forced to withdraw his troops from Rome where they had been standing guard over the pope's crown. Two months after the Franco-Prussian war had begun, on September 20, 1870, the Italian troops occupied Rome, whereupon the pope lost his temporal power. This added the Roman question to the many other perplexing problems.[21]

After the defeat of France all the states of Germany united to form a new empire and to crown in the famous royal palace at Versailles, William I, king of Prussia, as the German emperor. For the first time in the history of Christian Europe was an emperor's crown given a Christian monarch without the approval and anointing of the pope. All these events helped to influence the attitude of the German population, both Catholic and Protestant. The ultramontanes, who were intent upon establishing the pope's security and promoting Catholic interests within the Reich, ultimately crystallized into the *Zentrum* (Center) as an opposition party in the Reichstag.

The ensuing Kulturkampf bears some resemblance to Hitler's struggle with the churches, for Bismarck, like Hitler, aimed at the unification of the state. Bismarck issued a series of laws which were calculated to promote national interests and curb what he regarded as political and disloyal activities of the clergy. All political agitation from the pulpit was forbidden, education was given a distinctively German mold, the Jesuits were banished from the Reich, and finally, when the struggle became acute, even the payment of the stipends of the clergy was stopped.

As a result of these measures Bismarck came to grips in the Reichstag with this newly formed Catholic Center Party. During the first twenty years of its existence it was led by Ludwig Windthorst, one of the greatest parliamentarians of his day. As an accomplished orator he was not equaled in the Reichstag except by Bismarck himself. Windthorst and his followers warned against "crushing the verities of Christian religion," and even the Evangelical conservatives saw in the so-called May laws "a most grievous attack on the inmost life of the church."[22]

Bismarck, like Hitler, insisted that the struggle was not religious, but political, and that his only desire was to establish unity within the Reich. He saw in the Roman Church a political organization under ecclesiastical forms, and in the Catholic clergy a band of political agitators who were filled with the conviction that for them freedom lay in domination. As Bismarck saw it, the dogma of infallibility and the Center Party's heed to instructions from Rome constituted a threat to the integrity and security of the state.[23]

However, it would be a mistake to assume that Bismarck's entire relationship to the Catholic Church was a mere chain of conflicts. As was the case with Hitler, there were times when the two got along together and times when they fought each other. Bismarck was, in fact, at pains to establish good relations with some of the leaders of the German Catholic episcopate, many of whom came from aristocratic German families whose loyalty to the kaiser was beyond all doubt. When the Old Catholic movement arose in opposition to the dogma of infallibility, there were a few enthusiasts who saw in it an opportunity to begin the new empire with a new national church, properly subordinated to the state and comprising the entire German people, Catholic and Protestant alike. This somewhat anticipated the sentiment of the religionist of Hitler's National Socialism who said, "No matter what we may be, Protestant or Catholic: our Protestantism, our Catholicism is German Protestantism, German Catholicism; or better yet: Protestant Germanism, Catholic Germanism. But always Germanism." Hitler himself expressed it in one sentence: *"Deutschland, nichts als Deutschland!"* ("Germany, only Germany!")[24]

But Old Catholicism, as an expression of nationalism in Bismarck's day, was but indifferently received by the common people. It remained essentially a learned movement, and did not become strong enough to realize the hope of a German national church,[25] a hope which was to beckon patriotic church leaders once more in Hitler's day.

Near the beginning of the struggle Bismarck had publicly boasted that he would not be forced to go to Canossa. However, in a session of the Reichstag, on May 8, 1880, he admitted that he had become dead-tired of this struggle in which the representatives of the Center Party appeared to be invincible.[26] As a matter of fact, the waning of the struggle had begun earlier, with the death of Pius IX in 1878 and the accession of Leo XIII to the pontificate. The latter's policies tended to be more conciliatory, and the man of blood and iron had mellowed.

> Time changes things, and hours;
> We see so differently in sunshine and in showers.

It may be debated whether Bismarck really "went to Canossa;" nevertheless the German government soon began to amend the offensive May laws and to make peace overtures to the new pope. The rising forces of socialism and revolution made it expedient to seek this reconciliation almost on the basis of *status quo ante.* The Center Party responded quite willingly. In commenting on this rapprochement, Bernhard Menne says, "Although the Center Party certainly increased its numerical strength during the struggle it is equally certain that at the end of the ten-year struggle it was only too willing to let itself be taken under the protective wing of the Hohenzollern Reich."[27]

But for the time being the Center Party showed no signs of departing strength. During the quarter of a century before the first world war it was one of the chief supporters of German imperialism. It also supported World War I, though chiefly for the sake of upholding Austria, the leading Catholic power.[28]

During the period following the establishment of the Weimar Republic, the Center Party occupied a key position. At the National Assembly held at Weimar, in February, 1919, the Center Party and the Social Democrats co-operated after the latter had given assurances regarding the position of the Catholic Church. For decades there had been no such opportunity to build a Reich from the ground up in harmony with Catholic principles, and the Catholic Church was able, through the influence of the Center Party, to extend its interests considerably under the Weimar system. Ohlemueller declared that during this time the secret of Roman Catholic progress in Germany was to be found in its coalition with Jewish free thought and Marxist materialism. He held that of the two errors, Marxism and Protestantism, the latter was the greater.[29]

It must not be overlooked, however, that during this interim Reich the Center Party always had the support of a large group of voters, not only from the Left but also from the Right, and almost always had the deciding vote in a nation torn between extreme reaction and extreme radicalism. Furthermore, during this time it furnished four chancellors to head the cabinet of the Reich: Dr. Fehrenbach, Dr. Wirth, Dr. Marx, and Dr. Bruening. Dr. Marx came very close in 1925 to defeating Hindenburg for the presidency of the Reich. Dr. Bruening's government (1930-1932) was severely handicapped by the economic crisis. The parliamentary system ceased to work normally, and Bruening began to govern by presidential decrees under article 48 of the constitution. The change from the Weimar system to Hitler's Third Reich was not as abrupt as is commonly believed.

The position of the Center Party was weakened in 1919 by the secession of the Catholic representatives of Bavaria, who formed their own political organization, known as the Bavarian People's Party. The cause of the secession was the strong attitude adopted by the Center Party against the federalistic demands of Bavaria, which were in direct opposition to the centralizing policy of its recognized leader, Matthias Erzberger.[30] This new party, then, represented the interests of the south German Catholics who wished greater autonomy within the Reich. It did not always go the same way as its sister party. Its influence on German politics as a whole, and in particular on the policy of the Center Party, was far-reaching. It may be observed, incidentally, that the early growth of Nazism did not take place in the old, Prussian, Protestant areas east of the Elbe, but in the south German, small-peasant countryside of Catholic Bavaria.

The worst political defeat in the postwar period came to the Center Party in 1928. This was probably due to the fact that it had abandoned its coalition with the Social Democrats and had gone into alliance with the German Nationalists for the sake of winning concessions on the conduct of confessional schools, under the supervision of the clergy. However, during every subsequent election until the time of "voluntary" dissolution, the Center Party and its offspring, the Bavarian People's Party, maintained their political strength rather evenly, while other parties crumbled or even disappeared under the onslaughts of Hitler's vote-getting power. Nevertheless, in line with the policy of the Hitler government, which strove for one political party for all Germans, both Catholic parties yielded to political effacement. Upon Dr. Goebbels's virtual demand, the leaders of both groups announced, on July 4, 1933, the dissolution of their parties, effective the following day.

Dr. Bruening, who had been chancellor fourteen months previously, announced the "voluntary" liquidation of the Center Party. He had assumed its chairmanship after Dr. Kaas was compelled to leave the country. The latter had taken up his residence in Rome, where he undertook the drafting of the Reich concordat. This work was done in collaboration with Cardinal Pacelli, the papal secretary of state, and in consultation with Von Papen, vice-chancellor under Hitler. Under these circumstances it is apparent that the Vatican itself gave at least a conditional approval to the dissolution of the party.

The reasons for this are not far to seek. National Socialism had ceased to be merely a threat. Hitler had become chancellor of Germany. His government was a force to reckon with, and some kind of working agreement was imperative. Furthermore, despite the fact that the Center Party had demonstrated its political strength until the very end, it had not succeeded in winning the steady support of the German Catholic population itself. In fact, up to 1928, the history of the party was one of definite decline, so far as actual German Catholic support was concerned.[31]

While it is apparent that the appeal of the Catholic bishops later on reversed the trend when National Socialism was pointed to as a threat to the church,[32] it is equally apparent that other leaders acknowledged the futility of continuing Catholic political parties in opposition to the newly risen strength of Hitler's party.[33] The logical conclusions were drawn, and the parties were dissolved.

Thus after influencing German history for more than sixty years, Catholic political representation ceased to exist. The party which had its origin with the beginning of the Second Reich came to its end with the beginning of the Third Reich.

The Concordat Between the Holy See and the German Reich

Almost immediately following this political demise, the fourteen-year-old plan for a Reich concordat was announced. This agreement acquiesced in the dissolution of the political parties of Catholicism, but its terms carefully sought to provide adequate safeguards.[34] Henceforth the religious interests which had been championed by the Catholic political parties were to be secured by a concordat with the entire Reich.

As previously indicated, Vice-Chancellor Franz von Papen, a papal chamberlain and friend of the new Germany, was entrusted by Hitler with the conduct of the negotiations for the Reich government. Cardinal Pacelli, papal secretary of state, who had been in Germany fourteen years and who had already negotiated three concordats with individual German states, was entrusted with the conduct of negotiations for the Holy See. Prelate Ludwig Kaas, formerly chairman of the dissolved Center Party, was entrusted with the preparation of the original draft, which constituted the basis of the negotiations between the Vatican and the German government.

Although political and religious difficulties were encountered in these negotiations, rapid progress was made because only a few select representatives took part on either side. Furthermore, the Enabling Act now empowered the Reich government to pass laws without the consent of political majorities of the Reichstag. Hence, no dilatory tactics were encountered from this source. It is certain, moreover, that the experiences gained four years earlier in concluding the Lateran Accord with Mussolini, one of the first dictators of the twentieth century, were helpful in finalizing this agreement with Hitler.

In an address given July 22, 1933, before a meeting of the Catholic Union of University Graduates in the monastery at Maria-Laach, Franz von Papen endeavored to explain some of the issues involved and the difficulties encountered. Since the very beginning of the national awakening in Germany it had been his purpose, he said, to keep false ideas of a Kulturkampf from getting started. He pointed out that the century of enlightenment and excessive individualism was now a thing of the past. The agreement just concluded clearly indicated a change in secular trends, for it guaranteed the rights of the church which she must have to achieve her divine mission.

A state which is thus willing to protect the influence of the church, he explained, also has a right to expect the church to give to the state that which belongs to the state. During the

Kulturkampf and in the decades that followed, the church encouraged political parties as a defense against Marxism and atheism. The vice-chancellor admitted that the ensuing political and religious conflicts did not always promote the high mission of the church. Since the church is accustomed to think in terms of long time periods it now became willing to abandon many things which were deemed necessary and beneficial in the liberal era.

The speaker also made special reference to foreign influences which aimed to discourage the pope from entering into agreement with so unworthy a partner. According to Von Papen, the pontiff ignored these warnings and gave his consent in recognition of the decisive opposition of a new Germany to Bolshevism, and in the assurance that Hitler would carry on the national revival on the basis of Christianity.[35]

Accordingly the concordat was signed on July 20, 1933, and ratified in Vatican City on September 10. It was officially announced at Berlin and published a few days later. Within six months National Socialism had succeeded in doing that which all other governments had failed to accomplish during the years that the Center Party had wielded so much power.

The signing of the concordat constituted a success of the first order for both the Nazi government and the Vatican. *La Croix,* the chief Catholic organ of France, in its issue of July 23, 1933, called it the greatest church-political event since the Reformation.[36]

The Roman Catholic Church, on the one hand, had its rights, influence, and activities legally safeguarded through a solemn and formal convention of an international character with a government that had been manifestly hostile to it. The concordat had the distinction of being the first to be concluded with the German Reich since the reign of Pope Eugene IV, in the century preceding the rise of Protestantism. Hitler, on the other hand, regarded it as an even more significant event for the new German state. This was his first outstanding diplomatic triumph. It gave him prestige in the eyes of the world. The fact that the new concordat was applicable to all of Germany, rather than only to parts of it, helped the National Socialist goal of unifying and centralizing all the functions of government hitherto left to the several states.

Above all, Hitler appeared jubilant that the end of the Center Party had been officially confirmed within five short months after he had assumed power. In an address to men of the *Sturmabteilung* at Dortmund, on July 10, 1933, he pointed out that, thanks to the concordat, priests would be forbidden for all time to come to interfere with political affairs. In this regard the Fuehrer felt certain that he had the support of millions who longed to see the priest only the comforter of souls and not the mouthpiece for political parties.[37]

Two days earlier, Hitler had given official expression to his confidence that the Roman Catholics of the Reich would thenceforth place themselves unreservedly at the service of the National Socialist state. He revoked the dissolution of all Catholic organizations which were recognized in the concordat, and ordered all suppressive measures against priests and other leaders of such organizations to be removed. "I am happy in the assurance," he said, "that an epoch has come to an end in which, unfortunately, religious and political interests often stood in apparently irreconcilable relationship to each other."[38]

Shortly thereafter, Cardinal Archbishop Bertram, chairman of the Bishops' Conference at Fulda, directed a communication to Hitler in which he expressed the thanks of the episcopate for the conclusion of the concordat. In view of the chancellor's explanations and guarantees that the rights of the church would be respected, the bishops, he averred, would henceforth be willing to co-operate with the new government. In closing, he emphasized that the episcopate entertained the sincere wish that a common understanding might prevail in carrying out the terms of the concordat in order that the church could the more readily use its high prerogatives to advance faith, morality, and obedience for the good of the people and the fatherland.[39]

Thus, between 1930 and 1933 an official change had taken place in the relationship between Hitler and the Catholic Church leaders. Michael Power describes this altered situation as a miracle. He points out that at first the hierarchy had condemned the heresies of the Hitler party in no uncertain tones. Within a matter of months the apparently unshakable opposition of organized Catholicism had been swept away when Von Papen and Pacelli had signed a concordat which promised to settle once for all the differences between Hitler and the Vatican.[40] Michael Power intimates that many of the clergy must have had their fingers crossed.

This concordat became the new battleground over which the old struggle was continued. The real issues and policies remained largely the same.

The long, tortuous history of church-state relations reveals that the boundaries between spiritual and temporal interests have generally been found difficult to define. This difficulty was especially acute in the relationship between Nazism and Catholicism, because both insisted on a form of totalitarianism which was unwilling to brook interference.

It was during this time that *Der Mythus,* as the second most important book of National Socialism, had been added to Hitler's *Mein Kampf.* It has already been shown that this treatise by Rosenberg advocated that the allegedly alien religion of Roman Catholicism be replaced by a German national church.[41] It gave encouragement to the neopagan influences referred to at the beginning of this chapter, against which churchmen like Cardinal Faulhaber preached effective sermons, and in defense of which Germanists like Von Leers wrote numerous books.

Considered by themselves, the terms of the concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich seemed to be remarkably advantageous to the church. It completed, without superseding, the former concordats that had been made with the separate states. It recognized the right of professing and publicly practicing the Catholic religion, and the right of the Catholic Church to settle her own affairs independently within the limits of universally binding laws. It guaranteed both the episcopacy and the Holy See complete freedom of intercourse with the faithful in matters pertaining to their pastoral office. Pastoral letters might be published without hindrance and brought to the knowledge of the faithful in the customary manner. In the performance of their spiritual tasks the clergy were to enjoy the same state protection that was accorded to state officials. The bishops' oath of loyalty to the state was somewhat nationalistic, but it was safeguarded by the words, "as becometh a bishop." The retention and maintenance of Catholic denominational schools was guaranteed as before. In religious instruction special attention was to be paid to inculcating patriotic, civic, and social principles, in accordance with the spirit of Christian faith and morals.

But all these advantages were not promised the church without qualifications. In turn she was to assume certain obligations in deference to state interests. According to article 30 special prayers were to be offered on Sundays and holydays for the welfare of the German Reich and its people in all episcopal, parish, and conventual churches and chapels. Article 31 afforded protection to all Catholic organizations in their religious, cultural, and charitable pursuits, and even in their social and professional interests, provided they guaranteed to develop their activities outside all political parties. Article 32 announced that in view of the special conditions prevailing in Germany and the provisions of the concordat the Holy See would forbid the clergy, both secular and regular, to become members of, or actively support, political parties, thus confirming the dissolution of the Center Party and the Bavarian People's Party.

It was stipulated that similar restrictions regarding activities in party politics were applicable to non-Catholic denominations as well, and it was made clear that article 32 did not imply any restrictions of the official, prescribed preaching and interpretation of the dogmatic and moral teachings and principles of the church.

Finally, according to article 33, all questions dealing with ecclesiastical persons and things that were not provided for in the preceding articles were to be settled in the ecclesiastical sphere according to current canon law. If any difference of opinion arose regarding the interpretation or execution of any article of the concordat, the Holy See and the German Reich would reach a friendly solution by mutual agreement.

The concordat was ratified in Vatican City by the exchange of the necessary ratifying documents on September 10, 1933. It became law on the same date, in accordance with article 34 of the concordat. Both the concordat and its supplementary protocol were duly published in Hitler's official law journal under the date of September 18, 1933.[42]

In the history of church-state relations the making of concordats was the price the papacy had to pay for its victory over the conciliar movement in the fifteenth century when the absolutism of the papacy was first challenged by the demands of the rising national states. Basically, a concordat represents a yielding of the superior claims of the Holy See to exercise its control in the affairs of a nation.

A concordat has come to be regarded as a treaty between two powers of equal right, one of which is the church. The question of a concordat generally arises in countries where the Catholic population is sufficiently large and politically important. The terms of a concordat have the effect of international law. In discussing recent concordats Adolph Keller points out that canon law is a fundamental consideration in all these agreements. He says, "Most of the concordats constitute an elastic practical application of the Codex Juris Canonici which was proclaimed in the year 1917, very quietly, in the midst of a thundering World War."[43]

In considering the controversy over the Reich concordat it is well to remember that Roman Catholicism is a world organization headed by the pope, who possesses the highest governing power in all affairs of faith and morals, as well as those of law. The papacy represents a sovereignty uniquely modeled on that of the Roman Empire, and it encircles the earth.[44] The government of the church is effected through the Cardinal Congregations and the tribunals and offices of the curia.[45]

The church territory of any given country is divided into dioceses, which are governed by bishops. Several dioceses are combined in a church province, the head of which is one of the bishops. As archbishop, or metropolitan, he exercises jurisdiction over the bishops (suffragans) of his province. The smallest unit of the church is the parish.

Germany (*Alt Reich*) was divided into six Catholic Church provinces and twenty-five dioceses, the result of many territorial, ecclesiastical, and political changes made since the Middle Ages.

The Roman Catholic Church was recognized within the territory of the German Reich as a public-law corporation. The various dioceses managed their affairs independently according to canon law and the general laws of the state.

For the discussion of matters of common interest to several dioceses, the non-Bavarian archbishops and bishops met at the Fulda Episcopal Conference, and the Bavarian archbishops and bishops met at the Freising Episcopal Conference. Each conference was represented at the deliberations of the other.

The links between the Holy See and the German Reich were a papal nuncio in Berlin and a special German ambassador in Vatican City. After World War I the nuncio was made the *doyen* of the diplomatic corps accredited to the Reich, thanks to the request of the defeated Germans for a nuncio to be appointed to Berlin for the first time. Happily for the Germans, he took precedence over the French ambassador—one sweet consolation prize for the defeated but unregenerate *Boche!*

Of all the bishoprics in Germany, only the diocese of Meissen was not incorporated in a metropolitan province, but was exempt; that is, it was under the jurisdiction of the pope.[46]

According to church statistics of 1933, the Catholics of Germany numbered 21,172,087, or approximately one third of the total population.[47]

Following the revolution of 1918, the Weimar Constitution provided for a separation of church and state, under article 137.[48] However, this arrangement could not be made to work, and the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, continued to maintain their former status of corporations under public law.

The Catholic Church organization was left practically untouched by the events of 1918, because as an international world church it had maintained an independent existence from the very beginning and did not lean on state leadership and control as did the Protestant churches.

Roman Catholicism had actively participated through the Center Party in the making of the German Republic. At that time it sought to guarantee for itself a privileged and preponderant position within the state.[49] Cardinal Pacelli, later Pope Pius XII, became the first nuncio to Berlin. While he did not then succeed in bringing about a concordat for the entire German Reich, he did succeed in negotiating separate concordats with the three German states of Bavaria, Baden, and Prussia. Heiden refers to this as a process of consciously exploiting the political division of Germany.[50]

The collapse of the Protestant Hohenzollerns was helpful to the Catholic Church in Germany. It led to the removal of restrictions against monastic orders, some of which had been in effect since the Kulturkampf. This was especially true with regard to the Jesuits in Prussia.[51] There followed what has been called a "monastic springtide" in Germany;[52] that is, the establishment of many new religious orders, the foundation of numerous convents, and the opening of schools staffed by priests and nuns. Some Catholic organizations became so powerful that they tended to detract from the authority of the bishops.[53]

The revolution of 1933 put a definite restriction upon all such non-Nazi organizations and activities. Hitler's policy of unification called for all other groups to disband, or at least to conform to Nazi principles. This vitally affected the church and its many auxiliary organizations. In an endeavor to safeguard these interests, the pope was willing to agree to a concordat. Hitler also was willing, for he would underwrite any program which promised to enhance the all-embracing National Socialist idea.

The concordat was based on the theory that it is possible to separate the purely religious activities of the Catholic Church from its other activities. It did not recognize that there had been any conflict of attitude between the two contracting parties. By the sacrifice of its political organizations the church apparently hoped to promote its interests through regular church organizations. Articles 13, 31, and 32 gave assurances enough on this point. But they were all based on the condition that there should be no priestly intrusion into the political sphere, without specifying at the same time that there should be no political intrusion into the sphere of religion and the church. Under the impact of the all-embracing movement of Nazism it was inevitable that the spheres of Catholicism would be infringed upon.

The inevitability of further disagreements resulted from the very fact that at this time a new Germany was in the making. Among other things, this involved a legal revolution, in accordance with the declared program of the party and the ideological concepts of *Mein Kampf* and *Der Mythus*. While the idea of law was retained, it was made subordinate to the needs of the folkic community as interpreted by the party leaders. In this way, law was bent to the service of the party, as has been explained in chapter 4.

A state machinery had already been prepared, not to persecute the church, but to combat the Communists and other political enemies. But no opposition of any kind was to be brooked. Hence, that which was first aimed especially at the Communists under the decrees for the protection of the German people, the state, and the national cabinet[54] was soon directed also against political Catholicism, long a thorn in the flesh of National Socialism.

Indeed, it became legal to outlaw all organizations and to curb all influences which were regarded as contrary to National Socialism, and this without regard to regular courts of law.[55] The mere signing of the concordat did not change this situation, for which reason it was not long before both the spirit and the letter of the agreement began to be violated, and a goodly portion of the concordat became dead.

Difficulties in Interpreting the Concordat

In harmony with the Nazi policy of securing a healthy German race, a sterilization law was passed by the Reich government six days before the concordat was signed.[56] This fact alone gave rise to misgiving that the unrestricted promulgation of the church's doctrine was not going to be easy. Almost immediately there arose a dispute about the interpretation of the concordat. On July 26 and 27 the *Osservatore Romano* published articles on the concordat in which it was stated that the treaty was based on canon law and that its signing in no way implied approval of the National Socialist form of government, or the recognition of certain National Socialist doctrines or political theories.[57] As a result of this attitude by Rome, German newspapers began publishing articles in answer to the *Osservatore Romano,* declaring that, in accordance with article 33, canon law was recognized only in so far as the internal affairs of the church were concerned. Clearly, the Reich had not made itself subject to canon law as regards relations between the state and the church that had not been regulated by the concordat. Especially objectionable was the statement that the signing of the concordat in no way recognized National Socialism. The German Reich was National Socialist and nothing else.[58]

It was the question of sterilization that brought irreconcilable differences to the fore almost before the ink of the signatures to the concordat had dried. According to article 32 the priests were granted the right to teach the doctrines and precepts of the church, not only as relating to dogma, but also to morals. Here was a question of morals, and the representatives of the church soon pointed out publicly that such a law was contrary to the teaching of the church and condemned by divine law. On their side, the National Socialists deemed it intolerable that ecclesiastics, who, according to the concordat, promised to respect the laws of the Reich, allowed themselves to condemn a legal measure taken for the protection of the German race.

Despite this disagreement, the concordat was ratified on September 10. New disagreements arose in the meantime, and the controversy over sterilization continued. In an address given to certain representatives of the International Hospital Congress in Rome on May 25, 1935, the pope attacked sterilization anew and referred to the papal encyclical *Casti connubii* ("Chaste Marriage") of 1930, which had expressed opposition to such measures.[59]

To this Minister of Interior Frick made the emphatic reply, "As a responsible representative of the government I must here clearly lay it down that we are not minded to put up with any more of that kind of sabotage of the laws of the Reich. . . . The concordat does not free the Catholic Church from regarding as binding upon its members also those laws which are in force for all in the state."[60] This means, rejoined the *Osservatore Romano,* that the concordat is deemed to bind the Catholics to a law which contradicts the teaching of the church and the law of God. This involves "a juridical and ethical absurdity."[61]

To all this opposition Hitler had already given an answer in a speech on January 30, 1934. He held that National Socialism had rendered a great service by adopting legislation for this first attack on the menacing and gradual decay of the people. In answering the objections raised in clerical circles, he said, "It is not the churches who provide for the hosts of these unfortunates, but the people that has to do so. If the churches were to declare themselves ready to take over the treatment and care of those suffering from hereditary diseases, we should be quite ready to refrain from sterilizing them."[62]

The crux of this conflict between church and state, as

Ohlemueller points out, was to be found in the disagreement over the interpretation of the concordat. The representatives of the German government held that the concordat obligated Catholics to obey the laws of the state. The curia contended that the concordat released Catholics from obeying laws which the church could not approve.[63]

Other disagreements between the Nazis and the church came to the fore over the control of the youth. Various Catholic youth organizations had developed promisingly between 1918 and 1933. They were all supervised by the hierarchy. However, these youth associations were not limited to religious activities, but followed the pattern of life set by the youth movement in general. Sports, hikes, cultivation of folk ways, and all kinds of cultural activities were sponsored. These organizations were of immense importance to the church.

The Nazis also recognized the importance of youth work. In June, 1933, Baldur von Schirach, a fanatical and enthusiastic follower of Hitler, was appointed Reich youth leader. He immediately set about to organize all German youth in order to bring them under the influence of National Socialism.

This move by Von Schirach was bitterly contested by Catholic leaders from the very beginning, for it meant that the future of the church would be molded by a system which taught anti-Christian sentiments. In order to protect itself against such an eventuality the Roman Catholic Church had stipulated in article 31 of the concordat that organizations and societies which pursue exclusively charitable, cultural, or religious ends under ecclesiastical authorities were to be protected in their institutions and activities. For a time it seemed as if the Catholic youth associations would be able to maintain their independence.

On December 19, 1933, however, Bishop Mueller, the pro-Nazi leader of the German Evangelical Church, signed an agreement with Von Schirach by the terms of which the Evangelical youth organization was incorporated in the Hitler Youth. This left the Catholic youth organizations as the only ones to remain out of that official association. Naturally, the Nazis brought pressure to bear upon Catholic youth to enroll. Membership in the *Hitler Jugend* came to be an assurance for further employment and advancement. Members of Catholic groups were frequently molested by members of the *Hitler Jugend.* Priests criticizing such tactics were arrested.[64] On July 23, 1935, the fate of Catholic youth organizations was virtually sealed by a police regulation which read, "All activity which is not of a purely ecclesiastical or religious nature, in particular political and various sport activities, is forbidden to denominational youth associations, even if formed for the occasion."[65]

Finally, on December 1, 1936, a law was passed by the Reich government uniting the entire German youth within the territory of the Reich in the *Hitler Jugend* for the purpose of training them morally and physically in the spirit of National Socialism.[66] The Nazis proclaimed the year 1936 as the year of victory for German youth. On December 3 Von Schirach gave assurance that it was not his purpose to establish paganism or a *Wotanskult* among the youth, and emphasized that the Hitler Youth was not a church and that the church was not the Hitler Youth.

After this the terms of the concordat were of little value in protecting the independence of Catholic youth associations. One organization after another was dissolved until Catholic youth associations were virtually nonexistent within the Third Reich.

In a speech delivered before the *Hitler Jugend* meeting in May, 1937, Hitler said, "There is only one German people, and therefore there can be only one German youth. . . . And this new Reich will give its youth to no one, but will itself take that youth and will give it its own education and training."[67]

From a physical point of view the *Hitler Jugend* was a magnificent organization.[68] It made the German youth strong and willing to serve their country. "In our eyes," said Hitler, "the German youth of the future must be slim and slender, swift as a greyhound, tough as leather, and hard as Krupp steel."[69] But from the Christian point of view this organization could hardly stand approved, for according to Von Schirach, "the way of Rosenberg is the way for the German youth;"[70] and again, "I promise to train the youth in the spirit of Adolph Hitler, to whom alone their lives belong."[71]

The struggle also projected itself into the question of education. In the time of the Middle Ages the Catholic Church assumed complete control of education. As a result of the Reformation, however, education was placed under the direction of the princes, thereby preparing the way for state control and popular education. In the various church-state struggles of the nineteenth century the school question always played an important part. The *Syllabus* of Pope Pius in 1864 referred to the error of the state in seeking a monopoly of education and thereby weakening church influence. In 1917 the Codex Juris Canonici explicitly listed the rights and duties of the church and of parents in providing a Christian education.[72]

In the debates on the Weimar Constitution, the retention of the denominational schools was a matter of much dispute, but a compromise was reached. The principle was adopted that the retention or the abolition of any school as a denominational school should depend on the suffrage of the parents, subject to the approval of the state.[73] Religion was to be maintained in the regular school curricula, but attendance at religious lessons was to be dependent on the consent of the parents or guardians of the children.[74]

Under this arrangement there were established *Simultan Schulen* (nonconfessional schools) which children of all denominations could attend. However, both public and private denominational schools were allowed. The number of these was increased largely through the efforts of various religious orders.

As early as 1920, point 20 of the National Socialist program stated that the curricula of all educational establishments were to be brought in line with the requirements of a practical life.

According to Hitler, education was suffering from an excess of culture in which only knowledge was valued. "But wiseacres," he said, "are the enemies of action. What we need is instinct and will."[75]

As has already been shown, Hitler's ideal for the new Germany was the folkic community in which there were no bourgeois, no proletariat, no Catholics, no Protestants, no Bavarians, no Saxons, no Prussians, but only racial comrades who belonged together by birth, blood, and destiny. Such a concept called for community schools in which the cardinal points of Naziology would be given due emphasis in the training of youth.

In a speech at Erfurt on June 18, 1933—one month before the signing of the concordat—Hitler said, "We will educate our youths to that which we wish later to see in them, and if there are still folk here and there who think that they cannot change their outlook, then we will take the children away from them and train them up into that which is necessary for the German people."[76]

However, the concordat made liberal provision for a kind of education different from that which Hitler apparently had in mind. Articles 21-25 provided specifically for the preservation of religious education in public schools and for the protection and maintenance of denominational schools.

In spite of these official assurances, the Nazi authorities proceeded to modify the prevailing practices of religious education in order to make them harmonize with the ideology of the new movement. They set their propaganda agencies into motion for the purpose of influencing parents to vote for community schools and against the denominational schools.[77]

These tactics against the confessional schools were met with strenuous opposition from the church leaders. Cardinal Faulhaber preached against the Nazi inroads into education in violation of the concordat; the annual conferences of the bishops at Fulda took their stand against the program of deconfessionalization and made their appeal to parents to support the confessional schools;[78] and the German Jesuit monthly stressed the rights and duties of parents in giving their children a Catholic training.[79]

In replying to these objections, Adolf Wagner, Bavarian minister of education, explained that while the party and state did, indeed, wish the community school, the realization of that wish was dependent on the will of the people. "I appeal to the intelligence of the church," he said, "that it not place itself in opposition to this development."[80]

The real or ultimate intention of the government was revealed by an article which appeared in *Weltanschauung und Schule* in March, 1937. This official organ sought to explain that the spirit of the concordat pertaining to education had become obsolete by prevailing conditions and by the popular support of National Socialism. Henceforth the church would have to depend upon its own resources and not on state support in carrying on its own educational program.[81]

In this connection one is reminded of two great educational drives currently operative in the United States. One, promoted especially by the Catholics, is to obtain public funds for the aid and support of private and religious schools; the other, led by the Protestants, is an attempt to introduce religious education and observances into the public schools.

These two drives tend to break down the total separation of church and state guaranteed in the First Amendment to our Constitution, on the basis of which no form of religious ministry whatsoever receives state support.

Is not religious education important enough to warrant a continuation of private support by church and family without making demands upon public tax money? And above all else, is not religious liberty a distinctively American heritage, and is it not so precious that we can ill afford to engage in experiments that tend to break down total separation of church and state? Separation of church and state is something Germany has never known, and therefore it was easier for totalitarianism to get a footing there.

Those who think that religious teaching in public schools will serve as a sort of panacea for the national ills, need only to be reminded that Germany had a public-school system in which the teaching of religion was mandatory; yet Germany was not spared the fearful blight of a totalitarian regime.

Further disagreements between Nazism and Catholicism resulted from the influence of Catholic Action, a popular organization for the spread of Catholic ideas and principles, and especially sponsored during the pontificate of Pius XI. It is, in effect, an apostleship of laymen organized around the parish and especially the bishops, and is under centralized, national direction. The declared objective of Catholic Action is "to produce, change, and adjust all religious, moral, and social and economic thought and procedure of modern life to Catholic standards of thought and action, in order to spread the kingdom of Christ."[82]

This organization was specifically mentioned and protected in the Lateran Accord with Mussolini in 1929,[83] and subsequently became the object of a sharp conflict, because the Italian government contended that Catholic Action was being used as centers for political activities. Although the organization was not directly mentioned in the concordat with Hitler, according to Catholic interpretation it was definitely protected under articles 1 and 31 as one of the nonpolitical Catholic organizations.[84]

Notwithstanding the fact that the Center Party was forced to dissolve itself under duress in 1933, soon thereafter the Nazis advanced the claim that the former Catholic party had merely shifted its personnel and activities to other organizations, and that these now had become disguised political groups. The Catholic Action, in particular, was singled out as being the Center Party in another form.

Up to a certain point the charge was probably true, for while the alleged ideal of Catholic Action is depoliticizing of the church, at the same time it is the Catholicizing of politics.[85] In other words, the aim of Catholic Action to Christianize public life conflicted with the Nazi program of deconfessionalizing public life. This conflict was not limited to the sphere of polemics. In Hitler's purge of June 30, 1934, Dr. Erich Klausener, for illustration, a former Centrist, who happened to be chairman of the Catholic Action in the diocese of Berlin and also ministerial director of the Reich Ministry of Transportation, was shot and killed. Subsequently a government statement was issued to the effect that he had committed suicide.

A further indication of the severity of this conflict is the fact that Ministerpräsident Goering felt himself compelled to issue a strongly worded decree against political Catholicism on July 18, 1935. This decree charged the state authorities to employ all their legal weapons against members of the Catholic clergy who falsely employed the authority of their spiritual mission for political purposes, and accused the priests of openly denouncing state institutions and measures from the pulpit. While stating that the Nazis allowed the Catholic, as well as the Protestant, church complete liberty in faith and teaching, the decree reiterated that politically only one idea of the state existed and was possible in Germany, namely, the National Socialist idea.[86] A still further indication that the government felt compelled to undertake heroic measures in the co-ordination of religious activities was the appointment of Hans Kerrl as minister for church affairs with power over both Catholics and Protestants. This also took place on July 18, 1935. The following chapter will deal further with Kerrl's activities.

It should be noted here that the Catholics were not alone in their struggle against the Nazi campaign of deconfessionalizing public life. In June, 1936, the Evangelicals also raised the question as to whether the attempt to dechristianize the German people was to become the official policy of the government, and whether the program of deconfessionalization was not really intended to render public work of the church impossible. Furthermore, they raised a question about the purely worldly and psychological interpretation of positive Christianity given by various party leaders, including Kerrl.[87]

Dr. Walter Kuenneth, who as head of the Lutheran Institute of Apologetics had written a Protestant answer to Rosenberg's *Der Mythus*, also warned that the Nazi campaign of deconfessionalization must not lead to a withdrawal of church influence upon public life. At the same time he pointed out that spiritual victories are not to be gained by political intrigue or well-maneuvered political measures, but by the influence of the gospel and God's word, preached as a living reality.[88]

Perhaps the most glaring disagreements between Nazism and Catholicism found expression in the so-called currency and immorality trials. After the Catholic Saar territory had been safely returned to the Reich by a plebiscite on March 1, 1935, a concerted move was undertaken against the church in respect to alleged offenses against currency regulations. The accused were members of monastic orders and convents, and a number of clergymen were charged with having smuggled currency across the frontiers in violation of the "Law Against the Betrayal of German Economy," issued in June, 1933.

These trials extended over a year. The official press gave the impression that the smuggling of currency into other countries was carried on by Catholic orders for their own advancement and the downfall of Germany. Well-fed priests, for illustration, surrounded by bursting bags of gold, were caricatured as singing, *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gold* (A mighty fortress is our gold). Under the government restrictions on the religious press, Catholic papers were prevented from answering charges freely and fully. Yet the trials did not succeed appreciably in discrediting the church. Isolated cases of guilt were too grossly exaggerated and the sentences passed for minor offenses were too vindictive to receive much popular approval, even in a regimented nation.[89]

In the course of police searches for evidence of currency smuggling, certain dossiers were found reporting cases of immorality which had already been tried by ecclesiastical authorities. These discoveries led to the immorality trials of 1936. There appears to be some evidence that the charges in these trials were better founded than were those in the currency trials,[90] although the actual facts and figures were doubtless manipulated and somewhat exaggerated.[91] At all events, the Nazi press was more successful in using these accusations as a means of undermining confidence in the church and of giving the government added reasons for refusing to carry out the terms of the concordat.

In the autumn of 1933 the German episcopate appointed a committee to negotiate with the government in an endeavor to determine which Catholic organizations and associations properly came within the scope of article 31 as nonpolitical groups. This procedure was in harmony with a provision in article 33. But at the outset the committee was faced with men like Ley, leader of the Labor Front, and Von Schirach, Reich youth leader, and others, most of whom had given public utterance to their disregard for Christian denominations and their special organizations. A particular hindrance to successful negotiations was the appointment of Rosenberg to supervise the ideological training of the party and its totalitarianized associations.

Furthermore, an interruption resulted from the bishops' conference at Fulda in 1934, which issued a letter complaining of neopagan doctrines and protesting against the idea of a Rome-free national church.[92] On June 26 Hitler promised a number of the bishops that he would put a halt to the favoring of neopagan propaganda by state and party authorities. Four days later the attention of the public became focused on Hitler's purge, which resulted not only in the liquidation of Roehm, who was suspected of disloyalty to Hitler, but also brought about the murder of Dr. Klausener, the leader of Catholic Action in Berlin.

In the year 1935 the Catholic conflict with Nazism reached a still more serious stage when Count Clemens August von Galen, bishop of Münster, protested to the highest Nazi authorities that an address to be delivered by Rosenberg in Münster would be an insult to the sacred convictions of the Catholic public. Despite this protest, Rosenberg spoke in

Münster, denouncing the bishop; and the following day Minister of Interior Frick also spoke there and endorsed Rosenberg's statements.[93]

It is something of a relief to note that Bishop von Galen brought into the struggle a mixture of gallantry and humor which endeared him to the German people. On one occasion, for example, while he was speaking on the topic of "Family and Child," one of Hitler's storm troopers called out, "How can a man presume to discuss the family and the child if he is not married and has no children?" There followed a moment of breathless suspense. Then the bishop drew himself up and answered severely, "I will not tolerate having our Fuehrer insulted in this hall."

But the issues raised by the currency and immorality trials of 1935 and 1936, and the influences of neopagan doctrines, could not be disposed of by mere repartee. Even the bishops' attempt to bring about a better understanding regarding the terms of the concordat ended disappointingly.

In 1936 Alfred Richter expressed the fast-growing conviction of the Nazis when he stated that much of the concordat had become invalid by the logic of events. He pointed out that the concordat had been underwritten by two partners who thought in terms of entirely different worlds and therefore talked in different languages. Like Von Leers, whose treatise is discussed at the beginning of this chapter, he referred to the unhappy history of Germany since the papacy first undertook the unending struggle with the German people, and he predicted that a still greater conflict was imminent.[94]

William Teeling refers to a nice distinction that was expressed in Nazi circles while this struggle was going on. They argued that it was the state and not the Nazi Party that made the concordat. The state was so weak at the signing of the concordat that the party, which in the meantime became one with and ultimately superseded the state, could not be expected to honor the concordat any longer.[95]

Since the negotiations and warnings of the German bishops had come to nought, it devolved upon the pope to give words of counsel and admonition. These were contained in the encyclical issued March 14, 1937, beginning with the words, *"Mit brennender Sorge"* ("With deep anxiety").[96]

This encyclical is unique in that it was first published, not in Latin, but in German, and it was virtually unobtainable in the language of its publication. It was printed in Germany and delivered by hand at the presbyteries on Saturday night and in the early hours of Sunday morning. It was read at the Sunday morning mass, but by evening substantially all copies were in the hands of the police. Twelve printing houses responsible for its appearance were suppressed.[97]

The document clearly revealed the pope's concern over what had been happening in Germany. It contains upwards of nine thousand words, liberally reinforced by Scriptural quotations. Besides his denunciation of neopaganism, which has already been discussed in the previous chapter, the pope also dealt fully and openly with the concordat, with the practical methods employed by the Third Reich, with the Christian conception of Christ the Man, with the attacks on the Old Testament, with revelation, with the folly of trying to build a German national church, with the invitations to apostasy, with the sufferings and persecutions in Germany, and finally with the threats to parents and children in the Reich. In a penetrating and masterly manner he sought to make clear the whole nature and extent of the attack upon the church.

In closing his encyclical, Pius XI emphasized that he had no more heartfelt wish than the restoration of a true peace between church and state in Germany. "But if, through no fault of ours, there shall not be peace, the Church of God will defend her rights and liberties in the Name of the Almighty, Whose arm even today is not shortened."

Thus the Vatican had spoken officially—and in the German language, too! Even Hitler, never very fond of classical writings, could read and understand this document. But it failed to calm his savage voice.

In a speech delivered in Berlin on the May Day festival in 1937, the Fuehrer gave his answer in Teutonic brusqueness. The alternatives were, he said, "Bend or break!" In defense of his unshakable Reich, he flung the following words at Canossa:

> We cannot permit that this authority, which is the authority of the German people, shall be attacked by any other power whatever. That applies also for all churches. So long as they concern themselves with their religious problems the state does not concern itself with them. But so soon as they attempt by any means whatsoever—by letters, encyclica, or otherwise—to arrogate to themselves the rights which belong to the state alone we shall force them back into their proper spiritual, pastoral activity. They have no title to criticize the morals of a state when they have more than enough reason to concern themselves with their own morals.[98]

These words alone were clear enough as to Nazi church policy. But other events gave added significance to his words. At the party meetings in Nuremberg in the following autumn, Rosenberg, already in charge of the official training in Nazi ideology, was further honored by receiving the National Prize. Afterward he observed that Germany had been saved, not by the prayers of the Center Party, but by the willing sacrifice of National Socialism.[99] At the same time Goebbels began to sponsor the idea of a political church of National Socialism and spoke of himself and his colleagues as being the political chaplains of the people.[100] Meanwhile official recognition had been accorded to the frankly heathen movement of General Eric Ludendorff and his wife Mathilda. Toward the end of November, Kerrl also delivered a significant speech in which he stated that it had been the policy of the government to turn political churches into truly religious communities, and that in Germany the state must rule and only one individual lead.[101] In other words, the authoritarian government of Hitler was willing to tolerate religion, but not the politics of some religionists.

By the end of 1937 the relation between Catholicism and Nazism was one of tension and uncertainty. The basic points of dispute had not changed appreciably since the beginning of the conflict, but the hopelessness of bringing about a lasting agreement between two totalitarian powers had become much clearer.

With certain modifications the struggle was subsequently continued in Germany; and, after the *Anschluss,* also in Austria. Later it was carried to all European countries overrun by the Hitlerian forces.[102]

As a result of World War II, however, Nazism came to its end, while Catholicism emerged with added prestige. The principles of the 1933 concordat, for instance, were subsequently observed by the occupying powers of Western Germany, even though the original political partner of the concordat was no longer in power.

It is of interest to note that the Center Party, which had yielded to political effacement under Hitler in 1933, was a vital force again in 1949, this time, however, as the Christian Democratic Union (C.D.U.). Although this party also had the support of many Protestants, the Socialist leader, Dr. Kurt Schumacher, accused it of being a political tool to establish the church as a fifth occupation power in Germany.[103]

Whereas under Hitler the Catholic Church had only a concordat upon which to rely, under the newly created Bonn republic it had both a concordat and a political party to safeguard and promote its interests. The Holy See, moreover, delegated a *de facto* papal nuncio for the whole of Germany, with specific authority to defend also the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in the Eastern Zone.

The increasing influence of the Catholic Church in other areas as well was brought to the fore in a meeting at Cleveland, Ohio, March 8-11, 1949, when representatives of the Federal Council of Churches approved a historically unprecedented resolution which called upon World Council leaders to negotiate with the Vatican on issues of religious liberty and other human rights.[104]

Meantime, the struggle for totalitarian control continued elsewhere in the world.

On July 13, 1949, for example, the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, headed by the pope himself, decreed excommunication for all who enlist in or show favor to the Communist Party.[105] This was understood as a warning to the world's approximately 330,000,000 Catholics to renounce all co-operation with Communists. About 50,000,000 Roman Catholics live behind the iron curtain.

However, on October 25, 1949, the Roman Catholic bishops of Czechoslovakia gave ground when they issued a statement permitting the priests to swear loyalty to the Communist government and accept government salaries—with reservations. This was done, it was averred, to keep the country's seven thousand priests out of jail and to save them for the spiritual care of the faithful.[106]

Apparently, Catholic churchmen know how to come to terms with the totalitarianism of Communist regimes as well, so long as the privileged position of the church is respected. Clearly, the Roman question, like many other international questions, is not yet definitely settled.

On the eve of the Roman Catholic Church's 1950 "holy year," Pope Pius XII invited all believers in Jesus Christ, now outside the Catholic fold, to return to the one true church for a union against militant atheism. Jews also received a bid to the Catholic Church.[107]

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Protestantism and Nazism

PROTESTANTISM, which had been cradled and nourished in Germany, came into conflict with the totalitarian ideas and the revolutionary measures of the Nazi regime, even as Catholicism did. The controversy here, as with Catholicism, was partially attributable to age-old connections with, and dependence upon, the state. The basic reason for the struggle went much deeper than surface skirmishes over church-state relations. It concerned the very essence of the gospel. Salvation by race and Aryan blood strove to supplant salvation by grace and faith in God's word.

Protestant leaders, too, had occasion to issue numerous warnings to church members, and to direct repeated appeals to the government. D. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt compiled a series of four volumes of protests, under the title, *Confessions and Fundamental Declarations Relating to Church Questions*. One of these volumes was published for each of the years, 1933-1936.[1]

Each volume contains from two to three hundred pages of official and quasi-official viewpoints, ranging from naked paganism to armor-clad faith. They exhibit a remarkable degree of analytical ability, versatility, courage, and conviction.

The reading of these forceful pronouncements helps one to understand better why the sixteenth-century Reformation became so effective among the Germans, and it helps to make clear why Hitler failed to impose his will upon the stalwart Protestants of modern Germany.

For the student of the German church struggle these volumes are among the best source material available. The declarations they contain deal specifically with the issues involved in the struggle, and throw considerable light upon the policies employed by Nazi leaders in their attempt to bring the churches under the influence and control of an all-embracing Reich.

One of the clearest statements regarding the struggle of the Evangelical Church in Germany was contained in the Evangelical Church letter addressed to Hitler in May, 1936.[2] This letter was written three years after the adoption of a new constitution for the German Evangelical Church, on the basis of which the pro-Nazi German Christians had succeeded in forcing the election of Ludwig Mueller as Reich bishop. "The political church struggle is now over," the new church head had announced. "The struggle for the soul of the people now begins."[3] His attempts to introduce Nazi methods and ideology into the church had led to the formation of a separate provisional church government which held itself to represent the rightful leadership in the church. It was called Confessional because it put the confession of faith in God's word before any ideological belief of Nazism. Consequently it stood in opposition to Bishop Mueller's regime. During the same period a new policy for church administration had been undertaken by the appointment of Hans Kerrl as Reich minister of church affairs. He had been seeking to govern the church by the appointment of committees, but his methods were encountering the same opposition that Bishop Mueller's had met.

Then in the spring of 1936 came this clear statement from Protestant leaders, revealing the whole nature and extent of the conflict between Protestantism and Nazism.

In this memorandum, addressed to Hitler personally, the question was raised as to whether the attempt to dechristianize the German people was to become the official policy of the government. It asserted that authoritative persons in state and party were giving arbitrary interpretations to the idea of positive Christianity. The Reich minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, had declared that positive Christianity was merely humanitarian service; and the Reich instruction leader, Alfred Rosenberg, had proclaimed his mysticism of blood to be positive Christianity. Following their example, other party officials had defamed the belief of the Confessional Church as being merely negative Christianity. The harm done by such utterances became all the greater, inasmuch as the church was never given the oportunity of confuting, with the same publicity, the misrepresentations of the Christian faith made from high places.

Continuing, the Confessional Church voiced its objection to the destruction of church organizations, and against the Reich policy of curbing the public work of the church. It declared that Evangelical members of National Socialist organizations were required to pledge themselves unreservedly to the principles of Nazism, though those principles were frequently presented as a substitute for Christianity. When blood, race, nationality, and honor received the rank of eternal values, the Evangelical Christian was compelled by the first commandment to reject such estimates. Even though the Aryan man was glorified, God's word still testified to the sinfulness of all men. When anti-Semitism instilled hatred of the Jews, the Christian had to remember the command to love his neighbor.

In the protest a stand was made no less definitely against the inroad of a morality, essentially foreign to Christianity, which proclaimed, "Right is what serves the people; wrong, what injures it." It was pointed out that the spirit of a morality based on what is advantageous to a people would lead to contempt of the command to be sincere and truthful. The letter emphasized that the Evangelical conscience, which shared the responsibility for the people and the government, was most heavily burdened by the fact that there were concentration camps in Germany, which professed to be a country in which justice was administered; and it voiced opposition against the measures and actions of the secret state police, which were exempt from any judicial control.

The document referred to the frequent use of the oath in swearing allegiance and making pledges as being a definite danger in that it robbed the oath of its dignity and led to the profanation and abuse of the name of God. The protest expressed uneasiness over the deification of the Fuehrer to the point where he was invested with the religious dignity of a national priest and mediator between God and the people.

These were bold words to be directed to the highest authority in Nazidom. They came from men whose consciences were sorely burdened, and who, therefore, felt justified in calling Hitler's personal attention to tendencies which they regarded as being inherently evil.

Whether this document, addressed confidentially to the Fuehrer, ever reached his hands is not known. At this time the leader of the new Reich had many other matters to engage his interests.

These were the days when Hitler began to play for high international stakes. He had recently repudiated the Treaty of Versailles and marched 20,000 troops into the Rhineland to re-establish the "Watch on the Rhine." Nazi economists had introduced the four-year plan, and Herman Goering had declared that henceforth the slogan of the German people must be, "Guns before butter." Hitler made envious references to the minerals of the Urals, the wheat fields of the Ukraine, and the oil wells of the Caucasus. At this time, too, the storm clouds of a civil war were gathering over Spain, and the Rome-Berlin axis was under consideration. All these developments had the enthusiastic support of the German people, Hitler's foreign policy being approved by a 99 per cent popular vote.

German racialism and nationalism were on the march. Before 1933 the Nazis had made anti-Semitism merely an article of their creed, but by 1936 Jewish persecution had become official. Millions of Germans in neighboring countries—in Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Russia—were being taught to agitate for reunion with the fatherland. The idea of a "Great Germany" quickened the pride of German hearts everywhere—and there were many religious hearts among them.

The discerning Winston Churchill, who later rallied the English people to endure blood, toil, tears, and sweat, declared, "Germany must soon either expand or explode."

In the midst of these aspirations Hitler must have regarded church protests and internal church squabbles as something bordering on nonsense. After an interval of a few weeks, to the dismay of Confessional circles, the Evangelical Church letter was published simultaneously throughout the entire German press, and it also appeared in the foreign press. It was denounced by the Church Ministry and by party leaders as an attempt to embarrass the government at a time when a large number of visitors were in Germany in the interest of the Olympic Games. The difficulties of the Confessional movement were thus only increased.[4]

But the churchmen persisted. Their personal memorandum to Hitler was soon followed by the issuance of a church manifesto which restated and confirmed the gist of the appeal that had been addressed to the chancellor. It was read by the Confessional pastors on Sunday, August 23, 1936. It indicated not only the seriousness of the situation but also the seriousness with which the church was resolved to fulfill its duty to the German people. It declared that a systematic war was being waged against the gospel by the very government which millions of Evangelical Germans had greeted with enthusiasm four years earlier.

As if taking a leaf out of the Declaration of Independence, it said, "We have waited. We have made remonstrances. We have even laid before the Fuehrer in writing the things that burden the heart and conscience of Evangelical Christians. . . . From now on we are compelled . . . to oppose freely and publicly, without fear of man, attacks on the gospel."[5]

While no official recognition was ever given these appeals, Rosenberg subsequently made pointed reference to them in a brochure called *Protestant Pilgrims to Rome.* After accusing the Protestant leaders of having betrayed Luther and of having turned their faith into an instrument of war against the foundations of the German Reich, he maintained that these officials never once had stirred when Bolshevism raged in Germany and when the Jews trampled in the dust those things Germany held to be sacred. Instead, they left to National Socialism the task of saving the church from extinction. Now the leaders of the church emerge from their hiding places, he concluded, and bluntly demand the abolition of those very values which saved Germany from destruction.[6]

Doubtless the author of *Protestant Pilgrims to Rome* was correct in his inference that Protestantism ceased to protest against Rome as it had formerly done, and that the common struggle against National Socialism tended to bring about a united Christian front, for though, in their respective struggles with the state, Catholicism and Protestantism never once appealed for each other's help, they were nevertheless brought nearer together by the common danger.[7]

This same trend was to be forcefully brought to the front in March, 1949, when a resolution of the Federal Council of Churches called on Protestant leaders to negotiate with the Vatican on issues of religious liberty and human rights.[8] This historically unprecedented proposal came as a result of the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary and of Protestant churchmen in Bulgaria—a conflict in which totalitarian Communism, it appears, has more recently taken the place of Nazi threats.

However that may be, it is clear that in 1936, German Protestantism, like Catholicism, felt itself threatened, not only by the administrative agencies, but also by the ideological influence of Nazism.

German Church Affairs Before 1933

Germany has never had that degree of separation of church and state which has characterized American life for more than one and a half centuries. Even after the Reformation, German Christianity, Catholic and Protestant, became regional state affairs. The Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, provided for a territorial settlement of the religious question in harmony with the Latin formula, *Cuius regio, eius religio* (He who rules, determines the religion). Under this arrangement it was the local German prince who determined the religion of his principality.

This led later to large-scale emigrations on the part of those who disagreed with the religion of the prince. Thousands of these "rebels" came to the United States,—to Pennsylvania, for instance,—where their descendants may be found in large numbers.

With certain modifications, the territorial or regional church organization in Germany has continued until the present time. It was reflected especially in the twenty-eight *Landeskirchen* (territorial churches) into which German Protestantism continued to be divided down to the Nazi accession to power in 1933.

These *Landeskirchen* could be compared with American churches only if there were a "church of Kansas," a "church of Oregon," a "church of Kentucky," and so on, including all the churches of the forty-eight states of our union. There are also Protestant free churches in Germany, such as the Baptists and the Mormons, but they constitute a minority of all Germans and maintain an independent status. Since the end of World War II these groups have been increasingly influential.

Although the recent development in German church life has been somewhat more democratic, in the early organization of the church Luther arranged for the believing princes to have control over the government of the church. Territorial sovereignty of the princes was made to include the exercise of supreme legislative and executive power over the churches of their territories. In practice, however, the princes delegated the power of church government to the minister of public worship and to other appointed consistorial officers.

It must be remembered that, according to Luther's ideas, the civil ruler was not entitled to govern the church by virtue of his secular office, but because of his position as a Christian. To Luther the prince had duties toward the church but no rights over it.[9] The ruler was to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Lord and not to use his political power in order to determine the content and nature of the Christian faith and teaching. Luther's chief concern, as Paul Douglass points out, was the preaching of the kingdom of God. He was a practical man and solved his problems as they came.[10] But the sure result thereof was a close connection between the throne and the altar.[11]

In this connection it needs to be mentioned further that in the development of German Protestantism several confessional differences arose. There were, first, the Lutherans, who as followers of Luther formed the Lutheran Church, accepting the Augsburg Confession, Luther's catechism, the Schmalkald Articles, and the Formula of Concord. Next came the followers of Zwingli and Calvin, who took their stand on the Heidelberg Catechism. These constituted the Reformed Church. The former difference between these two groups over the Lord's Supper has lost much of its significance. More important, for the purpose of this study, was their difference over constitutional ideas. The Lutherans held to a consistorial form of government within the church, while the Reformed favored the more democratic Presbyterian form.

Furthermore, Calvin's concept of a theocracy made a church constitution tantamount to an article of faith.[12] When, therefore, the Evangelical Church constitution of July, 1933, made it possible for a Nazi Reich bishop to be placed at the head of the church, the Calvinist Karl Barth found ample justification for refusing collaboration.[13]

The creedal particularism of German Protestantism took a unique turn when, in 1817, the Evangelical Church of the Prussian Union was formed from a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Prussia. Thus, in addition to the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, there was added the United Church. It should be observed, however, that this union was mainly administrative and confessional, and that the confessional independence of the constituent churches was preserved.

Whether the church was Lutheran, Reformed, or United, in all cases there was a close alliance between church and state. The orthodox Protestant clergy, therefore, became conservative supporters of the *status quo*. Through the ensuing centuries Luther's church of the Bible gradually tended to become a church of clerics and theologians, much more interested in maintaining doctrinal purity and in holding to its ancient forms than in preaching the gospel to the poor at home and abroad.[14]

For the most part, German pastors were unfamiliar with the soul-agonizing efforts necessary to win converts and build up new churches. Instead, they found parish lines already carefully prescribed; and there were few Germans who did not belong to the church and pay the stipulated church tax.

Many of these university-trained pastors, while adept in the mental gymnastics of church dogma, were ill-prepared for practical church work. They were like civil servants, enjoying financial and social security, and officiating at baptisms, marriages, and funerals on a kind of professional office-job basis. In speaking of the formality and spiritual lethargy of the German churches, Stewart Herman refers to the hollowness that echoed among the Gothic arches of the great cathedrals and the uninspired singing of the choirless congregations.[15]

The outcome of World War I jarred the complacency and smugness of established religion within Germany. As a result of the revolution of 1918 the secular princes, who bore the title *Summi episcopi,* fled. Thus ended the traditional leadership of the Protestant church, which had been developed historically since the time of the Reformation. The supreme church councils and the consistories were left without visible leadership.

At this time it appeared as if German Protestantism had come to the end of its existence. The loss of the war, the collapse of the kingship, and the exactions of Versailles brought about a national humiliation that was keenly felt by the churches. As has already been pointed out in chapter 3, Johannes Schneider's *Church Annual* for 1919 is a veritable "Book of Lamentations."[16]

Five weighty words of the Weimar Constitution conveyed an ominous portent for traditional German Protestantism: "There is no state church."[17] Henceforth the church was to be independent. The state would no longer nurture the church, and the church would no longer represent the interests of the state. It was a goal some had sought to achieve for decades. Now it seemed to have been accomplished.

However, the intention of the makers of the Weimar Constitution was not fully realized. Through a properly authorized body, the *Landeskirchen* had made timely representations to the new government asking for recognition of the existing regional churches as public corporations. It was contended that the placing of the churches on a private basis with other organizations would not accord with the dignity of the church and would be contrary to a relation which, in the course of four hundred years, had become historically established. The churches requested state protection for their property, continued financial support from the state, the right to order and conduct their own affairs, and freedom to unite into religious bodies as publicly legalized corporations.

These requests received due recognition. The revolution of 1918 was not as complete with respect to the church as its friends had feared and its enemies had hoped.

Since the sovereignty of the princes had now disappeared, the *Landeskirchen* gave themselves new constitutions, which, in the main, aimed to preserve the historical character of their respective churches.[18] Sovereignty, now residing in the church itself, expressed itself in general synods. The church creed and the word of God, however, were still regarded as the real source and norm of church order; and the separate territorial arrangements of the *Landeskirchen* were continued.

Never before in three hundred years had the task of the church been as heavy—and as promising. The state continued its financial grants to the churches. Religious instruction in the public schools was also provided for, subject, however, to the discretion of teachers and the wishes of parents and guardians. Theological faculties at the universities were retained.

Under these new conditions Protestantism experienced a temporary revival and witnessed an increasing participation in church activities on the part of its lay members. However, interest in foreign missions, never very strong in Germany, was weakened still further by the economic and political instability of the times.[19]

The revolution also tended to rouse the church from its political indifference. Church members began to participate more actively in political elections. Church leaders warned against the one-sidedness of political parties and the danger of bringing political divisions into the church.[20] In spite of the fact that the church had obtained a highly privileged position, it was somewhat slow in reconciling itself to the young Republic. The chief obstacle to this reconciliation was the Social Democratic Party, and one of the fiercely disputed issues centered in the opposing points of view with reference to the teaching of religion in the public schools.[21]

The national catastrophe afforded renewed opportunity for increasingly effective antireligious and atheistic propaganda. The prewar loss of church membership, which had virtually subsided during the war, was now revived. A quarter of a million left the Protestant church by 1921.[22] By 1925 there were 1,383,914, or 2.2 per cent of the total population, who were registered as being without any church affiliation.[23]

The privilege of leaving the church had been made easier by a law passed in 1918, according to which it was no longer necessary for the one who left the church to make a personal declaration before a judge and continue to pay his church dues for the fiscal year following his withdrawal, as was the requirement under a much stricter law which had been passed in 1874.[24]

Unfortunately, then, the temporary revival of godliness, begun in the days of direst adversity, was not followed up. In the midst of economic suffering and political uncertainties, all kinds of racial creeds, myths, and nationalist aspirations clamored for recognition. It was during this time that Nazism was born. Its definite program promised alleviation, and it soon found popular support. Race doctrines began to invade the church. When Hitler came to power in January, 1933, the church was ill-prepared to cope successfully with the far-reaching demands of National Socialism.

Church Affairs Under the 1933 Constitution of the German Evangelical Church

The need for a unified national church had been given special emphasis by a widely advertised congress of the Faith Movement of German Christians, held in Berlin, April 3-5, 1933. It was this group in the Evangelical churches which sought to harmonize Christianity with the tenets of National Socialism and make the churches a pillar of the new Reich. They were the partial successors of an earlier group known as the Evangelical National Socialists, who, somewhat in imitation of the Catholic Center Party, endeavored to achieve the position of a Protestant political party. In February, 1932, they declared their program to be based on positive Christianity, rejecting the liberal spirit of Judaic-Marxist internationalism and striving for a union of the petty Evangelical state churches into one strong Evangelical national church. Although at Hitler's personal intervention the title "Evangelical National Socialists" was dropped as being too political, the German Christians continued to function as a subsidiary party of National Socialism.[25] Not only did they support the demand for a united, Nazi-dominated Protestant church, but they also advocated a synthesis of National Socialism with Christianity. This precipitated within the Protestant churches the so-called Confessional Church, whose members became the uncompromising opponents of the German Christians.[26]

Early in the church struggle, however, the Nazi state found strong support in the German Christians. Their program was based on the presupposition that the rise of Hitler was an event in which God revealed Himself. This new revelation must therefore be co-ordinated with the divine revelation in Christ.

While many German Christians were fanatical Nazis, and advocated extremist, Rosenberg-tinged programs for the reformation of Christianity,[27] there were a large number of earnest church members among them who saw in National Socialism the emergence of a German national spirit which could be used to renovate the church.[28]

One of the chief exponents of the latter view was Professor Emanuel Hirsch, of Göttingen. In numerous books and articles he asserted the possibility of reconciling Christianity and National Socialism for the benefit of both. In twelve closely reasoned theses he urged that every age must find its proper relation to political power and that the unity of confession does not necessarily depend upon four-hundred-year-old creeds which have no binding effect upon the present.[29] He had little sympathy for Barth and others like him, who sought to rivet the church to a creedal orthodoxy which precluded the acceptance of any new revelation. Professor Hirsch was perhaps the only eminent theologian who embraced the cause of National Socialism wholeheartedly. He saw in the revival of German nationalism under the leadership of Hitler a manifestation of God's will. His presence among the German Christians gave added prestige and influence to this group.

Among the leaders of the German Christians who were led into more extreme positions by the early revolutionary fervor of National Socialism were Pastor Hossenfelder,[30] for a while Reich leader of the group, and Dr. Krause, a district leader of the German Christians. Both became storm centers of German Protestantism: the former, because of the extremely political strategies he employed in church elections; the latter, because of his sensational speech before a group of twenty thousand people at the Berlin *Sportpalast* meeting on November 13, 1933.[31]

This vast assemblage deserves particular mention here. It was held in imitation of the mass propaganda methods so effectively employed by the Nazis, and involved the German Christians in a crisis which nearly proved fatal to them. In his speech Dr. Krause threw caution to the winds and invoked the spirit of Luther to help in creating not a Lutheran, not a United, not a synodal, not a consistorial or a general-superintendent church, but one mighty, new, all-embracing national church. He demanded the elimination of Judaism from the Old Testament, and the purging of the New Testament as well. He asked that a heroic Christ be accepted, and that the racialist principle be made to crown the Lutheran Reformation. He asserted that in religious matters, as in all others, there was but one sovereign law: that of Hitler.[32]

This speech was too obvious an identification of German Christians with the Nazi Party. Protests arose on all sides. Perhaps one of the most important results was the founding of the Pastors' Emergency League, headed by Martin Niemoeller, a pastor in Dahlem, Berlin. This league sought to unite all clergymen who stood by the faith of the church and opposed Nazi meddling in the affairs of the church.[33] It immediately called on Ludwig Mueller, who in the meantime had won the position of the Reich bishop, to separate himself from the German Christians, among whom he had come to hold the position of a protector. Henceforth both Dr. Krause and Pastor Hossenfelder ceased to play important roles, while Mueller increasingly endeavored to assert his authority as Reich bishop under the newly adopted constitution of the German Evangelical Church.

The work on this constitution had been completed on the basis of a preliminary draft known as the *Loccumer Manifest*, which had been issued May 20, 1933. On July 11, 1933, the finished constitution was approved by the plenary representatives of the German Evangelical Church Federation, which had combined the twenty-eight *Landeskirchen* in a loose union since 1922.

That the constitution of the national church was drafted and adopted in so short a time was due to the urgent desire of the church leaders for a greater unity, and also to the driving insistence of the German Christians and to the activity of Mueller as the confidential church ambassador of Chancellor Hitler.

Political enthusiasm and considerations combined to effect a unity which the churches appeared incapable of accomplishing by themselves.

On July 14, the Reich government published a law to regulate the constitution of the German Evangelical Church. It recognized the church as a corporation of public law and provided for a new church election to be held on July 23, 1933. The constitution of the church was also published at the same time and was incorporated in the laws of the Reich. The law regulating the church constitution was signed by the Reich chancellor and the Reich minister of the interior, whereas the church constitution itself was signed by the leaders of the various *Landeskirchen*.[34]

These various provisions indicate the degree to which church interests were commingled with the affairs of the state. They also make clear that German Protestantism was an influential factor within the Reich and that the reorganization of the church involved important questions of policy and administration.

As has been indicated, this 1933 constitution of the German Evangelical Church had been preceded by a church federation in 1922. The constitution of this federation combined the twenty-eight *Landeskirchen* in a loose union and worked reasonably well while Germany was under the temporary influence of a democracy.[35] It lacked the strongly centralized authority called for, however, when in 1933 the government of the Third Reich took control of the nation.

The 1933 constitution of the German Evangelical Church aimed primarily to bring about a closer union of Protestantism than obtained under the constitution of church federation of 1922. The rights and duties of the federation were legally passed over to the German Evangelical Church.

One of the outstanding features of the new constitution was that in it the Reich bishop was accorded, in religious matters, a position somewhat analogous to that which Hitler had begun to assume in political affairs. Although in the general administration of the church the Reich bishop was to be advised by a spiritual council and assisted by a national synod, he was endowed with remarkable powers. He was to guarantee a uniform leadership in the church, set necessary standards for the interpretation of the constitution, and give instructions to the spiritual council. In union with the leading officials of the *Landeskirchen* he was empowered to issue formal pronouncements and hold conferences. He was to ratify the nominations and dismissals of the German Evangelical Church, issue declarations in the name of the church, order exceptional services for special days, and draw up legislation for the church. He was to have his own diocese, and he was appointed to his bishopric by the national synod. There was no limit set to the tenure of his office.

While the *Landeskirchen* were to remain independent in confession and worship, the German Evangelical Church held the right to give them directions for their constitutions. Furthermore, the central authority was to guarantee unity among the churches in the domain of administration and jurisprudence. The cost of centralized machinery was to be paid by the regional churches.

Beyond this centralized control, the church retained its traditional character. It was still composed of the twenty-eight *Landeskirchen,* which were left independent in confession and worship. Although the interaction of political conditions of the Reich and the church was clearly expressed in the constitution by the acknowledgment that God was letting the German people pass through a new historical era, yet, according to article 1, the inviolable foundation of the church was to continue to be the Scriptures and the Reformation creeds.

The subsequent church struggle was largely over the question of whether or not this introductory paragraph was to be considered in earnest. Problematical, too, was the question as to how far the autonomy of the *Landeskirchen* was to be recognized. According to the Reformed Church law, the constitution itself belonged to the confession. Thus the episcopal order of the constitution in place of the synodal administration concerned a question of confession.[36] Among Lutherans as well, the question was raised as to whether the real position of the church would not be jeopardized by the introduction of a worldly leadership principle into the constitution of the church.[37] The answer to any such questions depended on the manner in which the constitution would be administered.[38]

The constitution attempted a difficult compromise, based on the distinction between centralization of administrative and legal activities on the one hand, and religious belief on the other. It sought to create a centralized administration with power to co-ordinate the federal churches while leaving them religiously free. In this way the possibility was left open for the whole federal structure to become nazified if those imbued with Naziology should win control of the central administration. The election of the first Reich bishop emphasized this danger.

As has been mentioned, the Reich law, passed to regulate the constitution of the German Evangelical Church, called for a new, nation-wide church election to be held on July 23, 1933, for the purpose of choosing parish councils, which would, in their turn, elect the national synod. There were two distinct parties: the Gospel and Church group, who wished to defend the freedom of the gospel and traditional Christian faith; and the German Christians, who favored the assimilation of the church with the Nazi movement. The former group favored Friedrich von Bodelschwingh as Reich bishop; the latter, Mueller. The issues were fairly clear in the persons of these two candidates; one, as head of the famous Bethel Institute at Bielefeld, was a pastor, teacher, and social worker, whose sole connection was with the church, and who was out of both state and church politics; the other, an army chaplain, a National Socialist, a German Christian, and a confidant of Hitler.

In this campaign for the electors of the national synod which would choose the Reich bishop, the German Christians adopted the electoral methods which had brought the Nazis so much success in the political area. Even Hitler and the deputy leader of the party, Rudolf Hess, played an important part in ensuring the success of the German Christians at the poll. By an order issued on July 20, Hess made it the duty of everyone who adhered to the Nazi point of view to vote in the church election. Thousands of German Christians, who for years had taken no active part in church affairs, enrolled in order to swell the German Christian votes.[39] On the eve of the poll the chancellor himself broadcast a message in behalf of the German Christians who, he said, represented that portion of the Evangelical community who had set foot on the sure ground of the National Socialist state.[40] The results were a foregone conclusion. The German Christians captured from 51 to 100 per cent of the total number of seats in the Evangelical parish councils, with the exception of the Bavarian and Westphalian synods. In some places only German Christians offered themselves as candidates. Consequently, an overwhelming majority of the same party were in the national synod, where Mueller was unanimously elected Reich bishop. Thus a National Socialist chaplain had been elected to lead in the administration of the new constitution which German Protestantism had given itself in "a new historical era."

Mueller appointed Pastor Hossenfelder, who had become bishop of Brandenburg and was the leader of the German Christians, chairman of his spiritual council. Many similar appointments were made to the office of bishop in the *Landeskirchen.* It became apparent that the German Christians were being favored to the disadvantage of the Gospel and Church group. Meanwhile this latter group had become the Pastors' Emergency League, which has already been referred to as composed of those who intended to stand by the traditional faith of the church and oppose the mixing of politics in the affairs of the church. From the very beginning the new Reich bishop was confronted by this opposition group, who felt that by acts of political pressure and violence the church had been betrayed into the hands of a political movement.

There can be little doubt that there existed also a deeply rooted fundamental objection to the institution of the episcopacy, as such, in the minds of some Lutherans and of almost all members of the Reformed Church. The wider use of the title *Bischof* tended to awaken ancient prejudices against arbitrary rule and hindered the new ecclesiastical administration in securing the full co-operation of both the pastors and church members.

Fundamentally the church of Luther is a church of laymen and is deeply rooted in the teaching of the priesthood of every believer. The pastor is not a ruler, but a minister who is certified by the gospel. This concept of church leadership did not exclude bishops as such, but it did exclude a bishop appointed for life, one that was neither appointed by the congregation nor could be recalled by it. The Reformed were even more opposed to a spiritual monarchy. They wholly rejected bishops, in both name and office. The pope alone in Christendom had powers comparable to those which the constitution made possible for the Reich bishop. To many this arrangement seemed a betrayal of the Reformation.

There also existed a less open but more fundamental conflict between the Christian world view with its emphasis on love and human brotherhood, and the Nazi *Weltanschauung* with its doctrine of blood, soil, and martial heroism. It was this less definite but more basic issue between Christian theology and political mythology which figured, not only in the struggle over the choice of a Reich bishop, but also in other relations between the church and the Reich.

In an endeavor to eliminate the Jews from positions of influence, a civil service law was passed by the Reich government on April 7, 1933, which contained for the first time the notorious article 3, or the Aryan paragraph. It stipulated that all officials who were not of Aryan descent were to be retired. An exception was made to those who had been in service since August 1, 1914, and to those who had fought in World War I at the front.[41] This law was augmented by still another passed June 30, 1933, which forbade any official from marrying a Jewess, and excluded from state office all those married to Jewesses.[42]

No such discriminatory measures against the Jews had succeeded in finding a place in the constitution of the German Evangelical Church. However, on September 5, 1933, even before Mueller had actually been chosen as Reich bishop, the Prussian Synod, representing more than half the Protestants of Germany and at the time under the control of the German Christians, gave Mueller the entirely new office of bishop of Prussia, and also adopted the Aryan paragraph into the sphere of the church. It declared that a non-Aryan could not act as pastor or official of the general church administration.

The Pastors' Emergency League, to the number of two thousand, presented a protest against this action, stating that the application of the Aryan paragraph to the life of the church was in violation of the Holy Scriptures and contrary to the confessions of the Reformation. They were fortified in their contention by a very important expression of opinion that had come from academic circles. On September 20, 1933, the theological faculty of Marburg declared that in their opinion the new law passed by the Prussian synod was unchristian. They insisted that only faith and baptism were decisive for incorporation into the church, and that Jews and Gentiles had equal rights as members and as ministers. They pointed out that these requirements had found no place in the concordat with the Vatican.[43]

Another statement by the faculty of Erlangen was less definite and did not give a unanimous verdict. This group declared that although all Christians were common children of God, biological and social distinctions still had to be reckoned with. They held that the church should recognize the basic right of the state to regulate such questions.[44]

For fifty years before the advent of Hitler the Jews had constituted approximately 1 per cent of the total population of Germany, a figure ranging from 500,000 to 600,000.[45] During most of that period, Protestant missionary circles had supported a program of evangelization among the Jews, not entirely without results. In the year 1920, for instance, 452 Jews joined the Evangelical Church; in 1925, 226; in 1930, 212; and in 1933, 241.[46]

Thus through the years numerous Jews had abandoned Judaism and espoused Christianity. Others had intermarried with German Protestants. These persons and their descendants, in the main, regarded themselves as Christians. But according to the Aryan paragraph, matters of faith had to yield to the considerations of an exclusive racialism.

No definite figures appear to be available which would indicate the number of Jews actually affected by the application of the Aryan paragraph in the church. Perhaps there were not more than two out of a thousand active pastors who were of Jewish descent.[47] But the Aryan paragraph was not limited to pastors. It applied to all officials of the general church administration. The members of the Pastors' Emergency League, however, did not view this problem in the light of mere mathematical considerations. They regarded it as a question of fundamental belief.

On September 27, 1933, the national synod of the Evangelical Church for the whole Reich met at Wittenberg and confirmed the election of Mueller as Reich bishop.

It was at Wittenberg that, 416 years earlier, Luther had written his ninety-five theses and burned a papal bull in the public square. What a contrast between the robust stature of Martin Luther and the Nazified Mueller! What a change takes place in a people when they reject the love of the truth and follow after lying wonders! "For this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie."[48]

Although on this occasion there were no decisions made regarding the Aryan paragraph, the laws passed were in conformity with the laws of the new Nazi state, and the declared policy was in harmony with the pro-Nazi ideas of the German Christians.

Again the Pastors' Emergency League made a spirited protest against the introduction of force into the government of the church and the application of the Aryan paragraph in its life. The league declared that the pressure to which the ministry was subjected was so great that the servants of the gospel were in danger of breaking the command that they should obey God rather than man.[49]

The Formation of the Confessional Church and the Free Synod Movement

When Dr. Krause delivered his memorable speech in the *Sportpalast,* November 13, 1933, demanding that the Old Testament be abandoned, he did not realize the extent to which his message would affect his listeners. Its repercussions forced Mueller to admit publicly that such opinions and demands were tantamount to denying the Bible as the church's sole and immovable foundation. Dr. Krause was dismissed from his ecclesiastical office, and Pastor Hossenfelder was forced to resign from the spiritual council. Left without the further patronage of the Reich bishop, the more radical German Christians now began to identify themselves with the new German pagan movement of the Third Confession, which has already been discussed in chapter 5. As a consequence, Mueller found himself virtually isolated, without the support of either the radical or the conservative elements of German Protestantism. The Pastors' Emergency League became more aggressive. By the end of the year its numbers had increased to more than seven thousand.

The Reich bishop took a new step. On December 19, 1933, he placed the whole Evangelical Youth Movement, with more than seven hundred thousand members, under the authority of Baldur von Schirach, the leader of the Hitler Youth. The insurgent pastors felt that the time had now come to insist that Mueller either resign or appoint men to his spiritual council who could be trusted to see to it that the faith and the independence of the church were upheld. Still enjoying the support of Hitler, the Reich bishop proceeded to place many of the protesting pastors in retirement. In many instances these pastors, with the support of their congregations, continued to preach. Martin Niemoeller was one of these.[50]

On January 4, 1934, the Reich bishop issued the so-called "muzzling order," which forbade pastors to refer to the church controversy in their sermons, or to publish books or pamphlets on the subject, under penalty of suspension or loss of their income. The Pastors' Emergency League responded to this order by reading it in their pulpits, together with a résumé of the controversy to date. The Reich bishop was accused of using violence and illegal methods in carrying on church politics. Pagan trends in the church were exposed. The pastors declared that their relation to the Reich bishop was expressed in the words: "We ought to obey God rather than men."[51]

Thus Mueller's attempts to integrate the various *Landeskirchen* into the German Evangelical Church only aroused further opposition. On April 12, 1934, he took into his spiritual council, as legal member and head of the church chancery, Dr. Jaeger, who had earlier created considerable opposition in the Prussian church as state commissioner in 1933. Under him the Gestapo and local Nazi political officers were employed to enforce Mueller's measures; but only Prussia and the smaller churches co-operated. The churches of Hanover, Württemberg, and Bavaria, respectively under the leadership of Bishops Marahrens, Wurm, and Meiser, refused to yield, and they were supported in their stand by a majority of their pastors. When Bishops Wurm and Meiser were later placed under house arrest, the opposition also spread to the laity. Ultimately the south German church leaders were successful in preventing the incorporation of their churches into the Reich church.

It must not be overlooked that at this time it took considerable courage to oppose this Nazi-backed church program. These were the days when Hitler resorted to violence to consolidate his gains and to maintain undisputed authority within the Nazi Party. The political purge of June 30, 1934, included men in high places. Among them were Ernst Roehm, head of Hitlers' storm troopers and once one of Hitler's closest friends and collaborators; Gregor Strasser, another former confidant of Hitler and once the most powerful leader in the party next to Hitler; Dr. Erich Klausener, leader of Catholic Action; Kurt von Schleicher, former chancellor of Germany; and many others—all told, more than sixty victims.

These men became guilty of unpardonable disloyalty when they tried to engineer a second revolution,—"a night of long knives," they called it,—directed against Hitler's totalitarian system. As Hitler saw it, his ruthlessness was an act of mercy forced upon him to prevent the collapse of his one-party Reich, in which he had publicly recognized the two Christian confessions as the weightiest factors for the maintenance of German nationalism.[52]

On August 9, 1934, one week after the death of Hindenburg, the Reich bishop summoned a second national synod, packed with pro-Nazi delegates. With evident disregard for the church constitution of July, 1933, a series of laws was passed placing the *Landeskirchen* under the immediate supervision of the Reich bishop.[53]

The churches of the Old Prussian Union had already been absorbed in the Reich church when in March, 1934, Mueller transferred all his powers as bishop of the Old Prussian Union to himself as Reich bishop.[54] The second national synod prescribed a form of oath for all pastors and church officials, requiring loyalty to the Fuehrer of the German people and the state, and acceptance of the orders of the German Evangelical Church.[55]

This was an attempt to brand the opposition against the church administration as politically subversive. The insurgent pastors hastened to explain that their refusal to accept the orders of the church primate was based, not on political grounds, but solely on religious reasons, and that obedience to his church government meant disobedience to the constitution and the law of the church itself.[56] The hour was opportune for the emergence of a competing church authority; but in view of the aftermath of the political purge of June 30, the death of Hindenburg, and the pending Saar plebiscite, the Nazi magicians had a special interest in composing religious differences and reducing political tensions in the country. After all, Protestantism was a power to reckon with, and Hitler saw the need of winning the loyalty of religiously minded Germans so that they would be an asset to the Reich.

From this time on, the position of Mueller as Reich bishop became increasingly uncertain. The leaders of the great non-Prussian churches declined to attend his inaugural service held September 23, 1934. On October 26, Jaeger resigned. Two days later a civil court declared all acts of the Reich bishop in Bavaria illegal.[57] On October 30, Hitler received the Southern German bishops and told them that he would take no further interest in the dispute and would leave the church to deal with its own problems. This made the Reich bishop's attempts to co-ordinate the regional churches appear more hopeless than ever. Both friends and foes addressed written appeals to the church primate urging him to resign.[58]

Mueller answered these demands in an open letter of refusal. He maintained that it had been his God-given duty to issue regulatory decrees in order to end church political disputes, which had endangered both the church and the gospel.[59] However, such explanations did little to restore the church primate's prestige. Nominally the head of the whole church, he was by now in actual command of little more than his office staff.

Meanwhile the opposition had organized a provisional Confessional Church administration, which claimed to be the lawful government under the constitution of the German Evangelical Church. It asked to be recognized by the regional churches and invited their co-operation in restoring the foundation principles of the Holy Scriptures and in acknowledging the creeds of the Reformation.[60]

While the Pastors' Emergency League, under the leadership of Niemoeller, did not succeed in bringing about a settlement of the church question, it did succeed, at least temporarily, in unifying the opposition to Mueller's church regime and in preparing the way for the so-called Free Synod Movement. In various parts of Germany delegates to these synods were elected from among those clergy and laity who were opposed to the government of the church in the form in which it was then conducted. They stood for the traditional faith of the church, were opposed to the Aryan clause in the church regulations, and desired new elections for the formation of the governing bodies of the church as laid down under the new constitution. The Free Synod Movement came to take the place of the Pastors' Emergency League.[61]

The opposition pastors, in a meeting at Ulm, April 22, 1934, issued a proclamation before the whole of Christendom, claiming to be the constitutional Evangelical Church of Germany. The gathering represented the churches of Württemberg, Bavaria, and the free synods in the Rhineland, in Westphalia, and in Brandenburg, as well as Confessional Christians in other parts of Germany. The proclamation insisted that the influence of the German Christians had robbed the Reich church government of its spiritual significance, and that, therefore, the church government ceased to have legal justification for continuing to control church affairs.[62]

The first Confessional synod of the entire Evangelical Church in Germany was held in Barmen, May 29-31, 1934. It proceeded to enact measures that had been foreshadowed at Ulm. The attitude of mere opposition was abandoned, and by a formal resolution it was declared that this Confessional synod represented the lawful German Evangelical Church. Attempts to abolish the differences between Lutheran, Reformed, and United confessions, however, were not successful. Instead, it was decided to preserve these distinctions within the framework of the Confessional Church, in accordance with the constitution of July, 1933. Condemning the attempts to unify the German Evangelical Church by means of false doctrine, the use of force, and insincere practices, it was proclaimed that the unity of the

Evangelical churches in Germany could only come into being from faith in the word of God and through the work of the Holy Spirit. The adoption of the Fuehrer principle in church organization was rejected, and the presbyterian form of church government was endorsed. Barth was especially influential in pointing out that the episcopal method of church administration and the introduction of a hierarchy were contrary to Reformation principles. The confession of faith that was worked out by this synod became the foundation document of the whole Confessional movement. Not for three hundred years had Lutheran and Calvinist collaborated to this degree in brushing aside ancient differences and agreeing to fundamental beliefs, which have their roots in the Reformation.[63]

In answer to the errors of the German Christians and the Reich church government, six theological or doctrinal theses were formulated. These six theses, with counterpropositions against heresy, may be summarized as follows:

1. Jesus Christ, as He is revealed in Holy Writ, is the only Word of God. The heresy is refuted that the church must recognize other events, powers, figures, and truths as the revelation of God.
2. God, through Jesus Christ, claims our whole life. There are no spheres in life in which we belong to other masters.
3. The Christian church belongs solely to Christ. It cannot surrender its mission and organization to prevailing philosophical and political convictions.
4. The offices of the church do not give one man dominion over another. They exist for the exercise of the administration entrusted to the whole community. The church cannot allow itself to be given leaders endowed with ruling powers.
5. According to the gospel, the state is divinely endowed with the task of looking after law and order. The state cannot become the single and total regulator of the whole of human life, thus fulfilling also the function of the church. Neither should the church assume state functions and dignities and so become an organ of the state.
6. The mission of the church consists in preaching in Christ's stead the message of the mercy of God. It cannot, therefore, place the word and works of the Lord at the service of any arbitrary wishes, aims, and pleas.[64]

Thus the German Christians were declared heretics, and the door to compromise was closed. On the other hand, this Barmen declaration became the general expression of that faith which all Confessionals shared and by which they were united. It was a religious *Magna Charta,* so to speak, in the struggle between Protestantism and Nazism.

The second Confessional synod was held at Dahlem on October 20, 1934. It had been preceded by a Confessional Church manifesto, which was issued August 12, charging the Reich church administration with ignoring elementary principles of law and justice, and the abandonment of the principles of the Reformation. The manifesto was read in all the churches, save in Bavaria and Württemberg, where the police intervened. Violent measures against offending pastors had been instituted in different localities.[65]

This second Confessional synod announced that in view of the incompetency of the Reich church government and of the basis of ecclesiastical emergency law, the Confessionals had formed a new organ for the government of the church, namely, the Council of Brethren, with an executive committee to conduct the affairs of the Confessional Church, which was again proclaimed as the only true German Evangelical Church. The announcement urged all parishes to reject instructions from the Reich church government. Signed by all the delegates present, the declaration was forwarded to the Reich government with the request that recognition be made of the fact that in matters of doctrine and church organization the church alone was qualified to judge, without prejudice to the state's right of supervision.[66] For the time being, the state authorities silently tolerated this new organization without, however, giving it formal recognition.

The continued resistance of the Confessional Church to the efforts of the central church administration to co-ordinate it, together with its opposition to Naziology, helped to consolidate Confessional strength. But it also eventually led to renewed opposition from officials of the Reich government. The minister of the interior, Dr. Frick, reissued his orders prohibiting any public discussion of the religious question. The minister of education, Dr. Rust, ordered the professors of theology in the universities not to participate in the church dispute. On December 21, 1934, Barth was dismissed from the chair of theology at Bonn for refusing to take, without reservations, the oath of allegiance to the Fuehrer. The Reich bishop had issued a prohibition against the recognition of the provisional government of the Confessional Church.[67] Undaunted, on February 27, 1935, the Confessional group issued a manifesto against anti-Semitic myths and the new blood-and-soil religions. When Confessional pastors read this pronouncement from their pulpits, upwards of four hundred of them were arrested. The civil authorities had interpreted the manifesto as an attack upon Nazi principles.[68]

The third Confessional synod was held at Augsburg, June 4-6, 1935. It dealt mainly with practical issues. The question of church discipline was handed over to the Council of Brethren. An appeal was made to theological teachers and students for loyalty to the principles of the Confessional Church. A strong petition was also addressed to the Reich government asking for just and fair treatment.[69]

Police action against the pastors continued. A new Reich decree, June 26, 1935, removed the adjudication in church disputes from the civil courts, which had, almost without exception, given judgment for the Confessional Church, to a new legal bureau set up by the minister of the interior. Against this tribunal no appeal was to be allowed.[70] Subsequently, by direct action of Hitler, Kerrl was made Reich minister of church affairs. Thus the church was placed under the direct jurisdiction of the state to a degree hitherto unknown. The policies employed by Kerrl and the results of his supervision of church affairs will be discussed later under a separate heading.

The fourth national assembly of the Confessional synod was held at Oeynhausen, February 17-22, 1936. In a carefully worded resolution it was reasserted that the Confessional Church was the legal church because it was founded on the creed. A new Council of Brethren and a new provisional church government were formed in which the synodal, as opposed to the episcopal, principle of church government was definitely recognized.[71] The majority of these new Confessional leaders refused to co-operate with Kerrl in his attempts to bring about a united German church. They believed that the plan of co-operation with the new Reich minister involved not only the state's right to order the church, but also the surrender of the church to a state which approved unchristian principles and practices. In May, 1936, they addressed the personal memorandum to Hitler, referred to at the beginning of this chapter, denouncing National Socialist doctrines and policies and asking whether the dechristianization of the German people was to become the official policy of the Reich government. This remains as one of the most courageous and most fundamental of all the statements of religious resistance to the co-ordinating policies of the Third Reich.

Dissensions in the Ranks of Protestantism

From the foregoing discussion it is clear that the attempt to create a united German Evangelical Church under the constitution of 1933 was not realized. The methods adopted by the Reich bishop ultimately destroyed the very unity which the church itself desired.[72]

The struggle of the Confessional Church with the Reich bishop resulted in the so-called intact territorial churches and the devastated church areas. The intact churches included those territories in which the German Christians did not succeed in seizing permanent possession of the church government. Instead, the church leadership continued under its former constitutional and administrative arrangement. Among the intact territorial churches were notably the Lutheran churches of Bavaria, Württemberg, and Hanover, and the Reformed churches of Hanover and Lippe.

The rest of the churches came to be designated as the devastated church areas. In these regions there were two church governments, each of which laid claim to being the sole legally constituted authority. There was no clear dividing line, however, between the government of the Council of Brethren of the Confessional Church and that of the German Christians. Each gained the adherence of some of the congregations. The confusion was greatest whenever the same parish had several clergy who were adherents of different church governments. The struggle came to assume the character of a civil war.[73]

Besides these opposing groups there were those who remained neutral. These were subjected to influences in two directions. On the one hand they were apprehensive of the influences that put Germanism before the gospel, and were therefore inclined to cling firmly to the confessions of the church as a protection of Biblical faith. On the other hand they believed in a strong united church closely identified with the secular life of the country.

Each of the competing church governments, in turn, was divided by creedal and ideological differences. Among the Confessionals, for illustration, were the extremists of faith headed by Barth, who would have nothing to do with the new church government.[74] But there was also a more moderate group headed by Marahrens, who manifested a willingness to cooperate. There persisted a strong tendency on the part of German Lutherans to decline joint action with the Reformed Church because of ancient differences with respect to church policy and theology. Among the German Christians, too, were to be found the most diversified theological and ideological leanings, ranging from a form of neopaganism which held itself aloof from Christian doctrine and belief, to a more nearly correct Christian point of view which accepted both the Old and the New Testament.[75]

These confused conditions brought the church face to face with baffling problems pertaining to questions of legality, administration, church collections, education, proclamations from the pulpit, and oaths. Owing to the disagreements among the groups it became practically impossible for the churches themselves to solve these problems satisfactorily. What is more, a unified church program under the church constitution had become impossible. Such chaotic conditions not only jeopardized the unity of the church, but endangered Hitler's folkic community as well. Hence the state deemed it necessary to enact special measures for the regulation of church affairs.[76]

On June 26, 1935, the Reich cabinet issued a law on the final adjudication of legal matters affecting the Evangelical Church.[77] The minister of the interior, to whose office Hitler had meanwhile transferred the task of supervising the church conflict, was hereby ordered to withdraw suits of the Evangelical churches from the ordinary courts and to have them reviewed by the Legal Bureau to be set up by the minister of the interior. The establishment of this new tribunal revealed the confusion in the Evangelical Church administration, where, as a result of the stanch resistance of the opposing Confessionals, there had been, in effect, two competing church governments.[78] Many of the suspended pastors and church officials had sued for damages in the German courts and had often won their cases, a fact which embarrassed the Nazi authorities.

The Legal Bureau was to decide whether the measures taken by the German Evangelical Church or the territorial Evangelical churches since May 1, 1933, were legal or illegal. Against the decision of this tribunal no appeal was to be allowed.

The support which the regular courts had frequently given to the protests of the Confessionals was to be denied them. It was the first definitive step of the state to bring the distraught church under its control, and subject it to Nazi decisions. Its rights of self-administration and of protection in the civil courts as a corporation of public law ceased to exist.

The leadership of the Confessional Church issued a protest against this measure. It denied that the state had any right to influence spiritual matters and contended that church affairs had virtually been taken out of church hands and given over to the state. This was held contrary to article 137 of the Weimar Constitution, which gave the church the right to direct its own affairs. It was held to be contrary to Hitler's promise that the rights of the church would not be infringed upon.[79] The Nazis, however, justified this new arrangement on the ground that church conditions generally had become impossible, and that according to Evangelical ecclesiastical law the state was called upon to protect the church in times of emergency.[80]

In its decisions the Legal Bureau was not to be strictly bound by church regulations or church law precedents, for, according to Nazi concepts, formal justice did not need to be recognized when its application would have absurd consequences.[81]

An edict of July 16, 1935, announced the appointment of Kerrl as both Reich and Prussian minister of church affairs, offices which had hitherto been administered by Frick, the minister of the interior for the Reich, and by Rust, the minister of education for Prussia.[82] Kerrl, the first holder of this important and difficult office of Reich minister of church affairs, had been a former Prussian minister of justice, a vice-president of the Reichstag, a high-ranking Storm Troop leader, a firm believer in the "positive Christianity" of National Socialism, and a strong opponent of Confessional "irregularities."

One of Kerrl's first acts as Reich minister of church affairs was to issue an order on July 27, 1935, in which the Legal Bureau was transferred from the Ministry of the Interior to his own jurisdiction, with Kerrl himself designated as president of this special court.[83]

On September 24, 1935, the organization of the Ministry of Church Affairs was developed still further by the passing of a measure known as the "Law for the Safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church."[84] It was signed by both Hitler and Kerrl, and it subsequently served as a basis for far-reaching legal control in Evangelical Church affairs.

The introduction to this law stated that in accordance with the will of the constituents of the Evangelical Church, the unification of the separate state churches into one German Evangelical Church had been accomplished and secured by a constitution. The Reich government was forced to observe with great concern that later, through the conflict of church groups among each other and against each other, a condition was eventually brought about by which the unity of the church was lost, the freedom of belief and conscience of the individual impaired, the spirit of the community harmed, and the very existence of the Evangelical Church jeopardized and exposed to the gravest dangers. The government felt under obligation in its capacity as trustee, conscious of the fact that the task could not be delegated to any of the warring factions, to enact a law for safeguarding the German Evangelical Church in order to enable the church to regulate its own internal questions of faith and creed in complete freedom and peace.

The text stated further that it was the earnest desire of the Reich government to entrust the management of church affairs to the church itself as soon as it functioned in an orderly fashion. The Reich minister of church affairs was authorized to issue ordinances with binding legal force which were to have the effect of restoring orderly conditions in the German Evangelical Church and the regional Evangelical churches. The ordinances were to be published in Hitler's official law gazette.

Between October 3, 1935, and December 10, 1937, Kerrl issued seventeen supplementary executive decrees, all of which were based on this law for safeguarding the German Evangelical Church. These decrees dealt with varied church problems as they arose and concerned such matters as administration, territorial reorganization, finance, ordination of ministerial candidates, proclamations from the pulpit, and church elections.

The law of September 24, 1935, put into the hands of a state official greater power over the German Evangelical Church than had ever been exercised before in its history. To begin with, Kerrl did not use his extensive powers directly. He placed the responsibility of restoring orderly conditions within the church upon appointed churchmen.

This he accomplished by issuing an executive decree, October 3, 1935.[85] This first decree, based on the law of September 24, provided for the appointment, by himself, of a Reich church committee consisting of churchmen, whose duties were to be honorary. This committee was to direct and represent the German Evangelical Church, issue decrees, regulate internal church affairs, and lay down fundamental principles for church administration. With the approval of the Reich minister of church affairs, the committee was to appoint and to dismiss the officials of the German Evangelical Church. After the example of Prussia, a finance department was to be attached to the German Evangelical Church chancellery.

This decree also provided for the appointment, by Kerrl, of a territorial church committee and of provincial committees for the Old Prussian Union Church. The Old Prussian Union was the largest of the twenty-eight *Landeskirchen* and the one in which differences of opinion were the most conspicuously marked.

All these measures, it was explained, were to be in force until September 30, 1937, only. It was thus intended to emphasize that they were merely temporary arrangements for the restoration of order within the church.

In order to allow the Reich church committee free scope for their activities, all contrary regulations were repealed for this interim period. This meant that the functions of the Reich bishop, the spiritual council, and the national synod, as provided for in the constitution of the German Evangelical Church, were in abeyance, and were to be carried out during the interim period by the Reich church committee. It was understood, however, that the committee was to be guided by the church constitution in all matters, including the relationship of the Reich church to the territorial churches.

In subsequent decrees similar arrangements for committee control were made for other territorial churches, which also affected certain "intact" territorial churches.[86] The manifest purpose was the gradual establishment of a uniform administrative scheme for all the *Landeskirchen*. Under the direction of the Reich church committee, the committees of the regional and provincial churches were to establish subsidiary responsible administrative bodies for the church districts and local congregations.

While this new plan held out promises for better church-state relations and a greater degree of intrachurch harmony, it actually turned out to be something of an *ignis fatuus*—and not a burning bush, so needful in the leadership of God's people in all ages.

The chairman of the Reich church committee was Dr. Zoellner, formerly the general superintendent of Westphalia, a strong Lutheran and a friend of the Confessional synod. Most of the other seven members of the committee were also opponents of Mueller and of the German Christians.

On October 7, 1935, Zoellner's committee issued a somewhat paradoxical appeal to the German people, affirming the national revival brought about by National Socialism on the basis of race, blood, and soil, and at the same time proclaiming Christ as the Messiah and Saviour of all nations and races, and His gospel as the inviolable foundation of the German Evangelical Church.

Apparently the committee was trying to be all things to all men. The appeal stated further that in harmony with the law of September 24, 1935, for the safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church, and the first executive decree for the administration of the law, issued October 3, 1935, the committee had been delegated to act as trustees for a limited period to settle church disputes and prepare the way for a united, self-governing church.[87]

The appeal had a mixed reception in Germany. Since the members of the committee had been chosen, not from party men, but from clergy who were highly respected, it was felt by some that the attempt should be accepted as sincere and honest. Others were more cautious, since, on several occasions before, there had been movements for conciliation which generally ended in violence. It was argued that as in the autumn of 1934 the Reich had had an interest in reducing political tension in the country, in view of the purge of June 30, the death of Hindenburg, and the Saar plebiscite, so now the real reason for this new movement was to produce an appearance of peace before the Olympic games, which were to be held in Berlin in 1936. The Confessionals, in the main, refused to have anything to do with the committee, rejecting the state control thus implied and maintaining that the government had no right to appoint such a body.[88]

Several decrees of the Reich church committee assisted the cause of pacification. Most of them were issued between October, 1935, and the spring of 1936, and dealt with the use of church premises, the law concerning church officials, the formation of advisory chambers of the German Evangelical Church, and disciplinary law and finance.[89]

The question that had become acute in a number of congregations as to whether a church building was to be at the disposal of the clergy of a church group that was not in the majority, was answered in the affirmative. Every service, however, was to be for the whole parish. In case of necessity the clergy of different groups were to perform their office by turns in the same church.

The decree concerning church officials was based on the Reich law concerning civil service, but contained neither the Aryan paragraph nor the regulation that the church officials must support the National Socialist state. The Reich minister of church affairs confirmed this law by his twelfth administrative decree, October 14, 1936, and also provided for increased supervision by the Reich over the finances of the German Evangelical Church.[90] Thus, for instance, the church could not, without his approval, make loans, fix and distribute taxes, or acquire real estate of a value exceeding five thousand reichsmarks.

The disciplinary decree of the Reich church committee covered both church officials and the clergy. The lowest court was the disciplinary chamber of the German Evangelical Church, unless the disciplinary authorities of the territorial churches were competent to act. In both cases appeal could be made to the disciplinary court of the German Evangelical Church.

The committee plan for governing the church did not produce accord between the German Christians and the Confessionals. Where German Christians were in positions of authority, as in Lübeck and Thuringia, they refused to surrender or to modify any of the power acquired during the Reich bishop's regime, now generally recognized as illegal. Zoellner's committee had success only with the larger "intact" Lutheran churches of Hanover, Bavaria, and Württemberg, which had successfully resisted the incorporation into the Reich church under Mueller.

These churches discontinued their alliance with the provisional church government of the Confessionals, which refused to recognize the Reich church committee. Thus the Confessional Church was further weakened by the division between moderates and irreconcilables, between those who favored and those who opposed some co-operation with Zoellner's committee. Some outstanding leaders of the Confessionals, like Niemoeller and Dibelius, had consistently refused to recognize state-approved ecclesiastical authorities of any kind whatsoever. They were the irreconcilables.[91]

The state countered such opposition by interfering with the activities of the Confessionals. On October 28, 1935, the Propaganda Ministry imposed a censorship on all church periodicals before publication. During the first week in November the Gestapo closed two new independent theological seminaries which had been organized by the Confessional synods. In a speech to theological students on November 13, Kerrl said that he would denounce as liars and hypocrites all who declared that National Socialism threatened faith. "Anyone who asserts that National Socialism is a danger to Christianity," he declared, "is guilty of treachery to the Fuehrer."[92]

On November 20 a proclamation by the Council of Brethren was read in all Confessional churches, declaring that a new religion was drawing men away from Christianity and that the true teaching of God's word had been taken away from the universities. It exhorted the congregations not to listen to their own fears, but to see to it that God's word won the victory.[93]

On December 2, 1935, the Reich minister of church affairs issued his fifth executive order on the basis of the law for the safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church.[94] It prohibited "unofficial" church unions or groups from exercising executive or administrative functions and forbade them to appoint pastors and other spiritual officeholders, to examine and ordain theological candidates, to make parish inspections, to issue instructions for proclamations from the pulpit, to levy and administer church taxes and other moneys, or to issue instructions for collections in connection with parish gatherings and the summoning of synods. Groups or organizations which continued to exercise these functions were to be dissolved. The freedom of preaching in the church and the promotion of religious interests in meetings and groups was declared to remain unaffected.

On December 20 Kerrl issued still another order, supplementing his fifth executive decree of December 2.[95] This order specifically forbade the provisional church government and the Council of Brethren to exercise authoritative functions in designated areas of the Evangelical Church of the Old Prussian Union, since committees had been appointed by the Reich minister of church affairs to restore order in those regions.

These measures, had they been enforced, would have sounded the death knell of the opposition. They were met by open defiance on the part of many of the Confessional groups. Niemoeller declared publicly that he would refuse obedience to the Ministry of Church Affairs, and led out in the ordination of five theological candidates in the presence of twenty ministers, thus openly defying Kerrl's decrees. On Sunday, January 12, 1936, a proclamation issued by the Council of Brethren of the Old Prussian Union was read in all their churches, rejecting the committees appointed by the state and insisting on the right of the opposition to continue its exercise of authority in the church.[96]

Kerrl's committees continued their policy of attempting conciliation. They were not entirely without success. The influence of Bishop Marahrens, who promised to co-operate, persuaded other sincere Confessional Church members to feel that Kerrl's policy had certain merits. After all, at the head of the new Reich church committee was no Mueller but a trusted churchman, a true minister of the word of God, even if state-appointed. The more moderately minded church members were not inclined to cling obstinately to the tenets of Barmen and Dahlem as if these were the gospel of Christ, especially if by so doing the work of restoring peace within the church was hindered.[97]

The irreconcilables were quick to point to the drastic ordinances which had accompanied this policy of conciliation. While the committees were trying to persuade men to come in, Kerrl was trying to force them by an authoritarian control more despotic than anything the Reich bishop had attempted. The whole program was interpreted as a plan to coerce the Confessionals in the interests of the German Christians, who by this time had become a minority within the church.

Early in 1936 Niemoeller issued a pamphlet entitled, *Die Staatskirche ist da!* (*The State Church Is Here!*) He maintained that the state church, as a tool of political power, had arrived in Germany when the new Ministry of Church Affairs took control and began to appoint provisional church committees. He declared that the minister for church affairs sought to secure peace by fighting the Confessional Church, a method that had never been desired by Kerrl's collaborators. There was no guarantee, he insisted further, when this administration would end. "A totalitarian state that has once assumed the government of the church can never let it go. In this situation German Evangelical Christendom must obey God rather than man."[98]

In May, 1936, the Confessional leaders, including Niemoeller, addressed their courageous memorandum personally to Hitler, and on Sunday, August 23, the Confessional pastors read a manifesto from their pulpits. The extent to which both of these documents condemned National Socialist doctrine and practice has been discussed in the introductory pages of this chapter.

On December 1, 1936, the whole youth of the country was incorporated in the Hitler Youth organization with the professed object of making certain that all young Germans become educated bodily, spiritually, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism.[99] This step was bound to affect church youth organizations in an increasingly adverse manner.

A rift had developed between Zoellner and Kerrl over church policies in areas where the influence of the German Christians was strong. In December, Balzer, a German Christian and territorial bishop of Lübeck, dismissed without notice or pension eight pastors because of their sympathy with the Confessional movement. Zoellner's committee tried in vain to secure the withdrawal of this measure, even attempting to reach the ear of the Fuehrer. Instead, the Gestapo expelled one of the pastors from the territory of Lübeck and placed the other seven under house arrest, at the same time prohibiting them from speaking in public. By direct intervention of Kerrl, Zoellner was forbidden to go to Lübeck to preach, because it was feared that he would sympathize with the dismissed pastors and take his stand against the German Christian bishop. Similar methods of threatening the Confessional clergy with imprisonment and dismissal with loss of salary unless they yielded, had been carried out also in Thuringia and Mecklenburg, where the German Christians administered church affairs.

Members of territorial church committees and of finance departments who attempted to have such measures set aside were intimidated by the threat that persistence would result in withdrawal, by the state authorities, of confidence and support. Kerrl went so far as to forbid the further holding of

Evangelical Weeks, which were customary annual church gatherings at which sermons were preached and laymen and clergy met for discussion.

Under such circumstances it became apparent that the committees of reconciliation were doomed to fail. Zoellner and the whole of the Evangelical Reich church committee placed their resignation in the hands of Kerrl on February 12, 1937. The reasons for the resignation were communicated to Kerrl in a document written and signed by Zoellner himself.[100] In it he stated that for more than sixteen months the Reich church committee, in an endeavor to bring order to the church, had cooperated with Kerrl, who supposedly was pursuing the same object. On numerous occasions, however, the minister of church affairs failed to give adequate support. The authority of the committee had been seriously jeopardized by aggressive and quite unrestricted antichurch and anti-Christian propaganda, which undermined confidence in church leadership and encouraged secessions from the church.

It was as churchmen, Zoellner continued, that the committee undertook its task of governing the German Evangelical Church, which, he affirmed, represented the most important ecclesiastical statutory corporation in the motherland of the Reformation. Not once had the committee been given the privilege of laying their needs and anxieties directly before the Fuehrer. Particular reference was made to the recent instance when Kerrl forbade Zoellner to preach in Lübeck. This meant that the chairman of the governing body of the German Evangelical Church, apart from any business of church politics, could no longer exercise the right of free and unhindered preaching of God's word. It was made apparent, Zoellner concluded, that the committee had no other choice but to resign.

Thus ended the most hopeful experiment that had yet been made for bringing unity and order into church affairs.

On the day following the resignation of the Reich church committee, Kerrl spoke before some of its former members and other church leaders, and threw considerable light on the difficulties inherent in any arrangement between Protestantism and Nazism.[101] His theme was that the church must acknowledge the primacy of the state, which strove for a positive, practical Christianity. Zoellner, he insisted, had failed because he had tried to reform the church instead of securing the recognition of state supremacy over the church. The will of the Father in heaven was to be found in National Socialism. It had passed into German blood. Everything that National Socialism did for the community and for the preservation of the nation was the will of God. It was not the *Apostolicum* that showed what Christianity really is, but Adolf Hitler. Christ could not be reckoned as a Jew, because the Jew is a destroyer, a bastard. The church, Kerrl maintained, would remain under his authority; but he would have nothing more to do with committees, and no church elections were to be allowed.

Church Affairs After the Resignation of the Reich Church Committee

Upon Kerrl's report of his failure to Hitler, the latter decreed on February 15, 1937, as follows:

> Since the Reich church committee has failed to bring about a union of the different church groups in the German Evangelical Church, the church shall now, in complete liberty and along lines determined by the congregations themselves, give itself a new constitution and therewith a new organization.
>
> I, therefore, authorize the Reich minister of church affairs, with this object in view, to prepare the election of a general synod, and take all the necessary measures.[102]

At first reading this sounds like a Pharaoh's decree to free God's people from all bondage. But the unexpected decision by the Fuehrer merely added to the church confusion. Apparently the constitution of 1933 was to disappear entirely. The memory of the 1933 election, when Hitler intervened in a broadcast on the side of the German Christians, was still vivid in the minds of the Evangelical Church people. The Confessionals hastened to submit a list of conditions to Hitler which, they felt, would guarantee fairness this time. They held that only those who were active members of the church should vote. They demanded, therefore, that all voters be required to register at parish offices in order to be checked on their participation in church life, a practice not uncommon in church elections prior to 1933. They pointed out that freedom of speech, press, and assembly were primary conditions for a fair and honest election.[103] But no such provisions were envisioned by the above-mentioned decree, for arrangements of this nature would not harmonize with the Nazi *Weltanschauung*.

In March, 1937, Dibelius and Niemoeller expressed the general anxiety of church leaders in a brochure entitled, *We Call Germany to God*.[104] In it an appeal was made to the state that it turn aside from all anti-Christian propaganda and give freedom to the preaching of God's word. What churchmen want to do, maintained the authors, is to call Germany back to God and infuse the people with the power of His word. Their brochure, however, was promptly suppressed by the Nazi government.

On June 25, 1937, Kerrl answered all such demands still further by his sixteenth executive decree.[105] Like the previous decrees, it was based on the earlier law for the safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church. In this decree he prohibited, under threat of fines or imprisonment, the use of churches for electoral purposes, and preparations for the election by means of public meetings or handbills. The opposition groups were thereby limited to private meetings, which the state with all its political machinery had recommended. It is clear that under such conditions a satisfactory agreement could not be reached, and the election called for by Hitler never took place.

Having failed to reconcile the opposition within the church by the expedient of church committees, and being unable to reach an agreement on a new election, the Ministry of Church Affairs enacted further measures to accomplish its aims. In his thirteenth executive decree,[106] March 20, 1937, Kerrl had transferred the administration of the German Evangelical Church to the director of the German Evangelical Church chancellor, who at that time was Dr. Werner, a German Christian, but formerly an opponent of Mueller. Thus began a new phase in the history of the German Evangelical Church; namely, the exercise of control over its administration, not by another temporary Reich church committee, but by a central, state-appointed office. It was a new and partly bureaucratic arrangement, to be confirmed shortly, without a time limit.

Dr. Werner's appointment was made permanent in the seventeenth executive decree,[107] December 10, 1937, when Kerrl confirmed him in his position as a state administrator of church affairs. Accordingly, Dr. Werner was authorized to promulgate ordinances on all church matters except on questions of faith and worship, while the leadership of the individual regional churches was to remain in the hands of existing church governments.

Local church autonomy had already become greatly restricted by a centralized supervision of their finances. The fourteenth executive decree,[108] June 10, 1937, augmented by the fifteenth executive decree,[109] June 25, 1937, called for a state-controlled finance department to be set up in the chancellery of the German Evangelical Church and one in each of the German Evangelical state churches. These newly established finance departments were henceforth to supersede the local authorities in the financial administration of the church. The central finance division was to simplify, standardize, and supervise the financial administration of the state churches.[110] Moreover, it was empowered to issue legally binding edicts with the approval of the Reich minister of church affairs. Thus it was in its power to influence the conduct of the whole church administration by cutting off support on account of alleged violations of state or church regulations. This not only limited the local control of church affairs in general, but it also jeopardized the very existence of the Confessional groups, which had hitherto been successful in deriving support from the regular church taxes or collections in the local parish.

Under the threat of these new dangers, Dr. Zoellner, the former chairman of the Reich church committee, issued a proclamation on April 1, 1937, in which he made an earnest appeal to the Confessional groups to lay aside their differences and unite.[111]

His appeal did not go unheard. The national Council of Brethren and the Lutheran Council recognized each other's authority as church governments and resolved to act jointly in dealing with the Reich on points relating to the election and other matters. On Reformation Day, October 31, these groups issued a statement in which they protested against Rosenberg's negative influence upon Christian faith. Declaring their readiness to give obedience to the government, they nevertheless expressed their undeterred resolution to abide by gospel principles. They were moved to ask whether the Nazi Party intended to permit the churches to continue as places of worship without exposing preachers and hearers to the danger of being suspected as traitors and enemies of the state.

The answer to such questions was given by Kerrl in an address at Fulda, November 23, 1937.[112] He declared that for nearly five years National Socialism had represented nothing other than the really positive aspect of Christianity. During this period the churches had received approximately 1,000,000,000 reichsmarks in subsidies and taxes from the Third Reich. If the religious communities had followed their own tenets and had not engaged in internecine struggles they might easily have lived in peace with the National Socialist state.

The Reich minister of church affairs then referred to his attempt to overcome disputes among various church groups by appointing church committees, but he pointed out that the church parties rejected his plan. Then the Fuehrer extended the helping hand of the state in a broadminded, liberal election decree, but the church itself made the holding of elections impossible. Obviously, he explained, the state cannot allow unauthorized church collections for the benefit of individual church parties or for the purpose of carrying on propaganda hostile to the state itself. Neither could the state grant the church the sole right of education, for it had to be left to National Socialism to educate the children as seemed right to the state. There was nothing in the teachings of Christ that contradicted National Socialist racial theories. On the contrary, Christ had led a bitter struggle against Judaism, and for that reason He had been crucified by the Jews. In this state, he concluded, only the state itself can rule, and there can be only one Fuehrer, whom it is the duty of all to follow.

Such declarations did not persuade Confessionals like Niemoeller to adopt a policy of subordination. This dauntless minister had been arrested on July 1, 1937, together with more than sixty other clergymen, because they had announced from their pulpits the names of people who had left the church. This procedure was in violation of an edict which had been issued by the Reich and Prussian minister of the interior, February 18, 1937, expressly forbidding the reading of such names from the pulpit.[113] Also, Niemoeller had uttered opinions from the pulpit which were interpreted as an attack on party and state. He was held in prison until February 7, 1938, before he was tried before the Special Court in Berlin. On March 2, the court showed that it was convinced of Niemoeller's personal integrity by sentencing him to seven months confinement in a fortress, instead of ordinary imprisonment, for having violated the Pulpit paragraph.[114] Since he had already been in prison for eight months he was regarded as having served his sentence, and was allowed to go free. But, as he left the court, the Gestapo arrested him and placed him in a concentration camp.[115] There he remained until the collapse of the Third Reich, when he was liberated by the American Army.

Thus by the end of 1937 the conflict between Protestantism and Nazism had been withdrawn from the semblance of a spiritual plane and transferred to the domain of the police and the criminal code. The basic points of dispute had not changed appreciably since the beginning of the conflict, and a feeling of tension and uncertainty continued in the relations between unsubdued Protestantism and aggressive Nazism.

There had been an occasional lessening of this tension, mainly for political reasons. The results of Nazi elections at times revealed an unusual number of "No" votes in parishes from which pastors had been expelled. This fact seemed to suggest to the government that it must be more wary in its treatment of the church. Reconciling the Confessional forces with the state continued to be a difficult task. The spirit of freedom inherent in Protestantism and its traditional emphasis on the autonomy of the individual believer made it difficult for a political dictatorship to thrive in a predominantly Protestant country where Protestant theology had taken root and grown through the years.

Ever since the time of Luther, however, the church in Germany had become so closely bound to the state by administrative, educational, and financial arrangements that any major political change was certain to affect religious conditions as well.

One of the contributing difficulties was to be found in the fact that when National Socialism came to power, the Protestant churches continued their demand for legal recognition and for financial aid from the state. Since this was granted, the Nazis reasoned that if they were expected to support the churches financially, in return the government was justified in expecting moral support from the churches. The latter found it difficult to refute or ignore such logic.[116]

After the collapse of the Third Reich, representatives of the Evangelical churches in Germany issued the Stuttgart Declaration, as has been explained in chapter 3. In this declaration they acknowledged their guilt for not having witnessed more courageously and for not having prayed more faithfully while they struggled against the spirit which found terrible expression in the National Socialist regime.[117] This document was signed by the most active of the Protestant fighters in the unequal church struggle with Nazism.

High courage, this, and true Christian humility. "So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do."[118]

That this acknowledgment of guilt was more than a momentary impulse brought about by an overwhelming military defeat was evidenced by a still more searching call for repentance issued by the National Fraternal Council of the Confessional Church on Repentance Day, November 16, 1949. It served as a sobering corollary to the Stuttgart Declaration.

Accordingly, this later appeal inveighed against the age-old idol of self-justification, used by both the East and the West, as well as by the German people. It warned against the delusion of a third world war or a world revolution as a means whereby to redeem the world. Refusal to repent, it concluded, would merely hasten further retribution not only upon the Germans but upon all mankind as well.[119]

~ 8 ~

Judaism and Nazism

WHILE neither the opposition to Catholicism nor the oppression of Protestantism was ever announced as an official Nazi policy, discrimination against Judaism was virtually made to be a public confession and an observance of Nazi faith from the beginning. "Anti-Semitism," explained Gottfried Feder, "is in a sense the emotional foundation of our movement. Every National Socialist is an anti-Semite . . . who recognizes the carrier of the national plague germ. . . . Essentially, anti-Semitism demands the expulsion of the Jew from our state and our economic life."[1]

As early as 1924 Hitler justified his fight against the supposedly materialistic spirit of the Jews as a necessary measure in order to save the world from chaos—and in order to make Germany safe for Aryanism. He said:

> If, with the help of the Marxian creed, the Jew conquers the nations of this world, his crown will become the funeral wreath of humanity, and once again this planet, empty of mankind, will move through the ether as it did thousands of years ago.
>
> Eternal Nature inexorably revenges the transgressions of her laws.
>
> Therefore, I believe today that I am acting in the sense of the Almighty Creator: *By warding off the Jews I am fighting for the Lord's work.*[2]

Clearly, the "Almighty Creator" in behalf of whom Hitler claimed to act was not "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob."[3] Neither was his "fighting for the Lord's work" a proposal to toy with an ideological abstraction. Hitler made the Jewish question an affair of state, thereby creating an anti-Semitism unparalleled in history.

Hitler did not intend to stop at a negative anti-Semitism. Besides wishing to eliminate the alien Jewish elements from the German community, he was motivated by a passionate desire to foster a creative racial hygiene with the supreme aim of uniting the German people into a strong, pure-blooded nation that would be supreme.

In effect, therefore, anti-Semitism was made to be an avowed national-religious dogma and an integral part of the program of creating and preserving Hitler's racial community as the most courageous and gifted nation in the world, which no other power would despise, neglect, or dominate. In the highest Aryan sense, this constituted "the Lord's work." It was wonderfully conceived and fearfully executed.

The subsequent large-scale removal of Jews from Hitler's Reich became notoriously the latest decimation and mass migration in the history of a race that has known wanderings and the scourge for nearly three and a half millenniums. From the time that Abram, the father of the Jews, moved from Ur in Chaldea to Ḥaran and thence into Canaan, more than fifteen centuries before Christ,[4] Jewish history has largely been one of migrations, both voluntary and forced. Consequently the Jews have come to be at home almost everywhere, yet in few places have they felt they were really at home to stay.

Generally the Jews found their contact with other peoples problematic. Antiquity reveals them to have been a thorn in the flesh of nations long before modern Aryans undertook to solve the problem of racial purity. The Pharaohs and Hamans of all times have been nettled and baffled by this strange people dispersed among them, because "their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them."[5]

Yet the Jews have outlived all the centuries of persecution, and despite their latest blood bath in Nazi Germany, they are still an international force to be reckoned with. On February 17, 1949, for instance, Zionist Chaim Weizmann was inaugurated as the first president of the young and tenuous state of

Israel—the first Jewish state in nearly two thousand years. But it should be observed that this new state does not have the Shekinah glory of Israel's ancient theocracy, nor does it promise to hasten the advent of their long-hoped-for Messiah. Nonetheless, the continuity of millenniums of Jewish history through exile and inquisition, through pogroms and persecutions, constitutes one of the great phenomena of human affairs. The burning bush[6] may be regarded as a symbol of the Hebrew race—burning, but not consumed.

Age-Old Reasons for Jewish Persecutions and Antecedents of Nazi Anti-Semitism

Certain reasons for persecuting the Jews have become more or less standardized. Chief among them are the explanations based on religious, economic, political, and racial grounds. Frequently Jews have been oppressed because they multiplied too rapidly, or amassed too much wealth, or wielded too much political power. Jews have not readily yielded to regimentation, and their nonconformist spirit frequently has been the underlying cause of their troubles.

The first recorded extermination policy against this people was undertaken by the Pharaohs of Egypt.[7] These taskmasters not only devised slave labor laws, but they also decreed that all males should be killed as soon as they were born.

In the midst of these repressive measures there arose among this harassed people a supereminently great leader, Moses. He was instrumental in delivering the Jews from Egypt's inhumanity, and he became God's chosen servant to lead these refugees from Egypt to a homeland of their own, where a monotheistic religion was to be established, based upon equity and righteousness. The Ten Commandments which God gave the people outlined the very foundation of human society. The subsequent preachings of the prophets contained the highest moral values ever revealed to mankind.

Erelong this favored people fell under God's displeasure and became a source of provocation, a byword, among the nations. In amazed agony the prophet Jeremiah bemoaned the fate of Jerusalem: "She that was great among the nations, . . . how is she become tributary!"[8] The whole book of Lamentations is a sad but searching commentary of Jewish misfortunes.

One of the best-documented explanations for the scattering and persecution of the Jews, not only in Germany but elsewhere, is to be found in another portion of the Old Testament, in the book of Deuteronomy, chapter 28. According to this record the Jews had been made the trustees of spiritual values. They were to be peculiarly benefited by these priceless possessions on condition of obedience, but a series of curses was to become their lot if they persisted in disobedience. In seeking causes for the tragic experiences which they have endured, this point is often overlooked. It may well be considered as a revealing interpretation of Jewish misfortunes. However, Gentiles act unwisely when they forget that Jews do not have a monopoly on retribution for disobedience. The fate of the Third Reich is a forceful object lesson in this respect.

In short, the Jewish problem is only part of a great human problem—and that quite apart from the question as to whether the Jews today are to be considered as a race or merely people of a different religious belief. Infinitely more important than such speculations is what the Bible teaches about God and man, about justice and mercy, about life and death. These things concern all men.

It must be conceded that frequently no rational basis can be found for hatred of the Jews. Neighboring peoples, it seems, have often discriminated against them simply because they were Jews.[9] Generally, however, their resistance to assimilation with surrounding people and their adherence to their own religious traditions have been contributing factors in inciting the ill will of their neighbors.

While Germany is the classic country of modern anti-Semitism, the pattern for Julius Streicher's Jew-baiting[10] may be discerned in the treatment of the Jews during medieval times. Hideous stories about them seemed to be the favorite gossip of the day, and nothing was too monstrous to be attributed to them. The demonic Jew was believed to be an infidel, a sorcerer, an archheretic, a master magician, the antichrist, and even the devil incarnate. He was attacked for host and image desecration, for ritual murder, for possessing the evil eye, and for coveting Christian blood. He suffered from multitudinous crusades, and the Inquisition, too, was directed against him. Whenever a calamity befell a city, the Jew was blamed for it. The Black Death, which started in 1348 and ravaged all Europe, was attributed to Jewish poisoning of wells. The crimes heaped upon the Jews in their alleged aim to destroy Christendom know no limits. They were confined to terrible ghettos, or driven from land to land, and from one occupation to another. Unable to own land, they finally gravitated toward trade and banking. Whenever popes and kings did protect them, it was generally for selfish ends, because the Jews were a convenient source of revenue.[11]

But the outstanding charge made against the Jews by medieval Christendom was that they were guilty of crucifying Christ. Accordingly, during the heresy crusades the Jew came to be regarded as a worse infidel than the Moslem. He was the Christ killer in person. Although Jews were justified in explaining that Jesus was tried in a Roman court and killed by a Roman form of execution,[12] it could not be denied that their fathers had assumed the responsibility for this bloodshed when they had prevailed upon Pilate with the words, "His blood be on us and on our children."[13] To get rid of Christ the Jews had professed loyalty to the Roman rule, which they actually hated. After this rejection of Jesus as the Messiah they no longer enjoyed God's special favor. Thenceforth they had no deliverer. They had no king but Caesar, and after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A.D. 70, the Jews lived in complete Diaspora, as a minority everywhere in the world.

While the crucifixion of Christ did not figure importantly as a cause for the recent Jewish persecutions in Germany, it is of interest to note that both the Jews and the Nazis emphasized the importance of blood, especially as it concerned the questions of racial purity, the power of survival, and salvation. Both groups were proud of their ancient heritage, and each laid claim to being a chosen people with a world mission.

Modern anti-Semitism in Germany did not originate with Hitler. There had been sporadic uprisings against the Jews ever since the Middle Ages, but since Germany during that time was divided into many independent kingdoms, duchies, and cities, the anti-Jewish policy was not uniform, and Germany had never become *Judenrein* (free from Jews).

Feelings against the Jews became particularly acute during Germany's stressful economic development in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The sequel to the Franco-Prussian War and the payment of the French indemnity brought on an orgy of financial speculation. The ensuing panic of 1873 revealed a series of financial scandals, involving prominent Jews as well as Gentile aristocrats. The publication at this time of a pamphlet by Wilhelm Marr entitled, *The Victory of Judaism Over Germanism,* fell on fertile soil. This author coined the word "anti-Semitism" and was the first to proclaim that the Jewish question was basically a racial one. Marr was imbued with the idea that the nation should be a unit, comprising individuals speaking the same language and of the same racial origin, and that all elements which could not be reduced to the so-called national type should be eliminated.[14]

Meantime, under the unification policy of Germany's Iron Chancellor, a tighter rein upon things Jewish was made possible. Bismarck's breach with the National Liberal Party in 1879 was followed by a tremendous growth of feeling against the Jews, leading to the formation of a definitely anti-Semitic political group. Known as the Christian Socialist Party, it was directed by Adolf Stoecker, the court preacher, and it appealed especially to the conservative elements among the Germans.

In 1881 the influence of such leaders as Marr and Stoecker expressed itself in the presentation before the government of an anti-Semitic petition bearing nearly 300,000 signatures. "The blending of the Semitic with the German element of our population," it said, "has proved a failure. We are now faced with the loss of our national superiority through the ascendancy of Judaism, the steadily increasing influence of which springs from racial characteristics which the German nation cannot and must not tolerate unless it wishes to destroy itself." The demands of the petitioners mildly but definitely anticipated the later demands of the Nazis to curb the influx of Jewish immigrants, eliminate Jews from responsible state positions, and restrict their influence upon education.[15]

All such demands had long been fostered by German historians, philosophers, and writers who exalted the character and mission of the Germans, glorified the state, and endorsed the use of force in assuring the triumph of a higher culture. The ideological effect of the Gobineau-Chamberlain-Wagner school in extolling the superiority of the German race over all others has already been pointed out in chapter 4. Wagner, it may be observed further, was an anti-Semite as well as a German nationalist.

The glorification of the national state and of the Aryan race came to have a metaphysical basis, and under the leadership of such zealots as Alfred Rosenberg it began to assume the character of a forceful national-religious myth.[16] In adopting this myth of race and nationality, the Nazis not only gathered up all the traditional arguments for anti-Semitism, but they also invested race and nationality with the absolute character and comprehensive force of a basic *Weltanschauung*.

In consequence of the anti-Semitism which frequently asserted itself in the latter part of the nineteenth century, few Jews were admitted to posts as officials in the civil service, the army, or the navy. Therefore a large number of them turned to commerce, industry, and banking. Those Jews desirous of entering professional life became for the most part doctors and lawyers, the two branches most readily open to them, which accounts for the relatively greater percentage of Jews in the liberal professions.

The establishment of the Weimar Republic undoubtedly improved the status of the Jews and made it possible for them to become a greater influence in Germany. While the largest proportion of them still found their way into commerce and industry, many more entered the public administration than had done so formerly.

In their anti-Semitic agitation the Nazis continually stressed the fact that great numbers of Eastern Jews entered Germany during and after the war and secured good jobs which should have gone to deserving Germans. The German propagandists warned that Jews would soon become master of the Weimar Republic, a threat which was made to appear particularly ominous and reprehensible by referring to the notorious dagger thrust of the internationalist and pacifist Jew, the ignominious peace treaty abetted by the Jew, and the spread and threat of Bolshevism under Jewish leadership. All in all, the Jew was made out to be guilty of unpardonable disloyalty to Germany.[17]

The truth was that the defeat of World War I came as an unexpected shock to most Germans. They reasoned that such a thing could not have happened to an undefiled *Deutschland über alles*. The real cause for this tragedy, they felt, must be owing to some element that was alien to the unconquerable might of the Kaiser's shining armor. *Ach, der Kaiser. Hoch der Kaiser!* When the Nazi magicians announced their alleged discovery of the Jewish plague germ which was defiling noble Aryan blood, Germany became hysterical.

Nazified Germany had looked for a scapegoat, a victim upon which to consolidate its wrath. The Jews, a minority element, but conspicuous, served this purpose.

According to statistics for 1925, the total population of the Reich was 62,410,619, of which 564,379 were Jews, who thus comprised less than 1 per cent of the total population.[18]

It was not so much the arithmetical factor that perturbed the Nazis as it was the alleged Jewish grip on positions of influence. According to Nazi figures the Jews—who numbered less than 1 per cent—held from 20 to 50 per cent of the important positions of influence among the German people, such as teaching, law, medicine, banking, journalism, and cinema.[19] There is reason to believe that these figures were often exaggerated for the sake of adding emphasis to Nazi arguments.[20] There is no doubt, however, that the positions held by the Jews were quite out of proportion to their numbers.

This was brought about, the Nazis explained, by the materialistic spirit of the Jews and their clannish egoism. They accused the Jews of making it a practice to flourish among other nations, but only parasitically, especially in times of national distress. They were, according to Hitlerism, a sinister, scheming, and demoralizing element in the body politic, alien and unassimilable, and hence to be ejected *in toto* as a matter of national honor and self-preservation.[21]

It is evident that the picture drawn by the Nazi propagandists was a distorted one, calculated by selected data and figures to mislead many into thinking that Germany had been surrendered to the Jews. Impartial observers have pointed out that the presence of Jews, though relatively few in number, did cause a real economic, cultural, social, and institutional problem in Germany.[22]

It may be that German Jewry made itself somewhat too noticeable at a time when German nationalism was on the march. A more recent example of Jewish initiative and daring came into evidence in February, 1949, when Jews staged a riot outside a theater in Berlin in protest against the showing of the British production "Oliver Twist," which allegedly was anti-Jewish. This demonstration showed the power of Jewish survival, but it may have been ill-timed, for it took place before the ashes of the late Nazi terror had had time to cool; and it supplied grist for the Communist propaganda mill.

But it would be extremely difficult to justify Hitler's brutalitarian methods when he refused to distinguish between good Jews and bad Jews. He had no difficulty in distinguishing between good Nazis and bad Nazis. The purge of June, 1934, gave evidence of that fact. But his stanch, biological anti-Semitism led him to feel about a good Jew somewhat as Sheridan felt about a good Indian: The only good one was a dead one.

At all events, Hitler would not admit that any Jew could become a German at heart, and that for several reasons: first, because of his blood; second, because of his character; third, because of his will; and fourth, because of his actions. These things, according to Hitler, never change. No matter where a Jew is in the world he always stays Jewish. He concluded that the bare existence of the Jew as a part of another state rests on a monstrous lie.[23]

The Nazi Program of Anti-Semitism

As early as 1920 the National Socialists announced their twenty-five-point program,[24] which literally bristled with anti-Jewish discriminations. More than a fourth of these dealt directly with the disfranchisement, the pauperization, and the expatriation of German Jewry. When, for illustration, point 4 declared that "none but those of German blood, irrespective of religion, may be members of the nationality," the selective racial basis of membership in the Nazi state was established, and this quite apart from any religious affiliations. In other words, no Jew could qualify for German citizenship even though he were a Catholic or a Protestant. "German blood" was the essential qualification.

Since the Jew could not qualify as a citizen for racial reasons, according to point 5 he became a man without a country and could live in Germany only as an unwelcome guest. According to point 8, all further immigrants who were "non-Germans" became *personae non gratae,* and they were to be expelled from the Reich.

Because only full-fledged citizens of the state had the right to be entrusted with leadership in political affairs and with the control of organs of propaganda, and because bona fide citizens had preferential considerations in industrial employment and economic activities, the Jews, according to points 6, 7, and 23, were left without political rights and without economic support. This was intended to remove Jews from all positions of influence and also to deny them the means of earning a livelihood.

Point 24, which guaranteed religious freedom for all religious confessions and endorsed positive Christianity, at the same time expressed its opposition to the Jewish materialistic spirit within and without. This was another shaft directed mainly against the Jews.

But the attack upon the freedom of the Hebrew spirit could conceivably be carried to the point where Christianity would also be jeopardized. This is substantially what took place during the struggle between the Christian churches and the state. Although the state attacked the Jews primarily for racial reasons, yet indirectly such a policy vitally concerned also the churches. The Jewish race and its spirit are inseparably associated with the history and the writing of the Holy Scriptures, upon which the fundamentals of Christianity are based.

After Hitler came to power in January, 1933, anti-Semitic propaganda became more and more pronounced. Party leaders enlarged on their denunciation of Judas and confirmed anti-Semitism as the basis of their entire *Weltanschauung*.[25] Pamphlets denouncing the Jews flooded German streets. Such books as Johann von Leers's *Jews Look at You* became best sellers. Its sweeping anti-Semitic treatment was typical. "Two different people, two different souls cannot occupy the same soil," he averred. "Therefore, Hitler's battle against the alien Jew is a historical necessity."[26] At the same time, one of Goebbels's propaganda organs declared, "Our hatred of Jews is no passing fancy, but rather the logical consequence of our love of the German people."[27]

Such agitation was bound to result in more overt acts. At first, sporadic boycotts were staged against Jewish enterprises. Later, individual attacks were made on supposedly Communist and Marxist Jews, many of whom were dragged from their houses in the middle of the night and put into confinement.

Such measures raised considerable feeling abroad, where both Jewish and non-Jewish leaders voiced their condemnation of Nazi actions. The Nazis claimed that Communists, Marxists, and their Jewish intellectual instigators, who had managed to escape abroad with their ill-gotten money, were now conducting a conscienceless and treasonable propaganda campaign against the German people.[28] As a counter action to "the lies and defamations" let loose abroad concerning Germany, the Nazi Party announced a national boycott of Jewish goods and Jews in the professions, to start April 1, 1933. Julius Streicher, who became the ace Jew-baiter of Nazidom, played a leading part. The Hitler government itself implemented the program, though the boycott had been declared by the Nazi Party. It was a bold but futile attempt by the Nazis to control public opinion abroad as they controlled it within the Reich.[29]

Following the official Jewish boycott, the government passed a series of legislative measures specifically directed against the Jews. From this point on there stands out, like a red thread throughout the entire web of legislation, the fixed purpose of the Nazis to deprive the Jews of every possibility of existence in Germany. The Jewish discriminations originally contained in the Nazi program were destined to be translated into legal action, for after the proroguing of the Reichstag on March 23, 1933, the dictatorial control of the Nazis over the German government had become a *fait accompli.*

One of the most important measures in the initial move of the new government to eliminate the Jews from public life in Germany was the law for the restoration of the professional civil service, which was promulgated on April 7, 1933.[30] In a sense, this law became the foundation of the entire structure of Nazi discriminations against the Jews. Article 3 contained the famous Aryan paragraph, which stipulated that officials not of Aryan descent were to be retired, and that all honorary officers were likewise to be relieved of their duties. Several supplementary decrees were issued later, designed to carry out the law and to define its provisions exactly.[31]

A non-Aryan was defined as a person who was descended from non-Aryan, particularly Jewish, parents or grandparents. It sufficed if one parent or grandparent was a non-Aryan, and applied especially if one parent or grandparent professed the Jewish religion. This law, however, did not apply to those who held office on or before August 1, 1914, nor to those who fought in the World War at the front for the German Reich or its allies, nor to those whose fathers or sons fell in the war. There were, however, other far-reaching stipulations. Thus officials could be dismissed because of their previous political activities or because of political unreliability, or for lacking requisite education and training.

As a result of such measures, any civil servant in whom the Nazis lacked confidence, against whom they bore a grudge, or whose position some member of the party coveted could be dismissed not only for racial reasons, but also on grounds of political unreliability or incompetency of various kinds.

Professing Jews were not the only victims of the discriminatory legislation pertaining to civil service. The term "non-Aryan" also disqualified numerous persons who were Christians and had had no relations with the Jewish community. In the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries numerous German Jews abandoned Judaism and espoused Christianity. "Even more numerous, perhaps, was the class of Jews who had intermarried with German Protestants or Catholics and they, or their children, had severed all affiliations with the Jewish group and had completely identified themselves with the Christian community. These persons regarded themselves and were regarded by others as Christians." But matters of faith had to yield to the purposes of an exclusive racialism. This legislation, therefore, concerned not only the professing Jews of Germany but the additional hundreds of thousands of German Christians who were descended from Jewish stock.[32]

Nazi legislators found it necessary to issue a number of supplementary decrees defining arbitrarily the meaning of the "non-Aryan" term connected with the "parent or grandparent" clause. In a decree regulating peasant holdings, September 29, 1933, non-Aryanism was, in effect, made retroactive to January 1, 1800.[33] The far-reaching character of this provision is indicated by the two following genealogical tables:

Table I

Descent From Baptized Jews

Baptized Jew marries baptized Jew.

1st generation because parents and grandparents were Jews	Non-Aryan child (m. Aryan)
2d generation because two grandparents were Jews	Non-Aryan grandchild (m. Aryan)
3d generation because one grandparent descended from Jewish parents was considered a Jew	Non-Aryan great-grandchild (m. Aryan)
4th generation	Aryan great-great-grandchild

Table II

Descent From Mixed Marriage

Jew marries Aryan.

1st generation because one parent and two grandparents were Jews	Non-Aryan child (m. Aryan)
2d generation because one grandparent was a Jew	Non-Aryan grandchild (m. Aryan)
3d generation	Aryan great-grandchild

For the purposes of the laws regulating the public business and peasant holdings, the great-great-grandchild of table I and the great-grandchild of table II would not be considered "Aryan" if the mixed marriage or baptism had occurred after January 1, 1800.

In other words, all those were reckoned as non-Aryans whose Jewish ancestors could be discovered to have lived after that date, but any probing previous to that date was made unnecessary. While a great deal of vagueness and uncertainty resulted from this kind of racial legislation, it also possessed the virtue of definiteness for every person whose parents and four grandparents had not been Jews, to feel secure from molestation on racial grounds. However, an Aryan forthwith lost his privileged position if he married a non-Aryan.[34]

Under this kind of legislation the reckoned number of Jews in Germany was ultimately increased from a half million to more than two million. It was one of Hitler's gravest fantasies.

The National Socialist legislators did not stop with the elimination of non-Aryans from government service. By a series of laws and decrees the Aryan paragraph was also made applicable to the liberal professions and to educational and cultural fields, as well as to industry, commerce, and agriculture.[35] The ban even included Aryans whose opinions were disliked by the Nazis. Thus, not only government officials, but doctors, lawyers, educators, renowned artists, and celebrated scientists were soon discriminated against. The high achievements of Jews in science, for instance, by men like Albert Einstein, kindled the envy of pure-blooded Aryans; and they began to question the wisdom of having "aliens" occupying such prominent roles in the cultural life of Germany.

On the night of May 10, 1933, before the Berlin Opera House, storm troopers and students under the personal direction of Joseph Goebbels consigned to the flames thousands of books of Jewish authorship, together with other works which represented liberal or democratic thought. Similar scenes were enacted the same night in Dresden, Nuremberg, Breslau, Stuttgart, and other cities.[36]

The "Ritual" number of *Der Stürmer,* May 1, 1934, was typical of the inflammatory nature of anti-Semitic propaganda to which all Germany was subjected. Each week this periodical, along with many other Nazi-sponsored magazines and newspapers, denounced the Jews as murderers of Aryan children, sexual degenerates, and traitors to Germany. Every relation or transaction between Jews and non-Jews was described as race treason.

As minister of propaganda and public enlightenment, Joseph Goebbels was in a particularly advantageous position to promote and reinforce these anti-Jewish tendencies. On June 30, 1935, two years after the book-burning incidents, he felt constrained to make a speech in Berlin, where the Jewish element was especially strong. In endeavoring to emphasize that it was abject folly to deal with the Jewish race in a humane and conciliatory manner, he said:

> Does one believe that we have buttons instead of eyes, not to see how certain countermovements in the capital city are once again attempting to spread out, and how the bourgeois intellectuals once again are ready to give them brotherly aid with that stupidly inane phrase that the Jew is also a human being? A flea is also an animal, yet not a very pleasing animal. We do not want the Jew any more! He has no place any longer in the German community![37]

Criticism of Goebbels's excessive anti-Semitism found expression in the following jingle:

Wenn der Goebbels nicht was su tun weiss,
So macht er es den Juden heiss.
(If Goebbels doesn't know what else to do,
He then makes it hot for the Jew.)

According to Goebbels and other Nazi leaders, the idea of equal rights for all was to be forced to yield to the doctrine of racial inequality. The concept of the superiority of the Nordic race posited the inferiority of the Semitic. It fostered a race spirit which was destined to result in the exile, imprisonment, or death of thousands of members of the Jewish race.

On September 15, 1935, the so-called Nuremberg laws gave further official endorsement to all forms of Jewish discriminations.[38] According to the Reich Citizenship Law the Jews were denied German citizenship and were reduced to the status of subjects; according to the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor the Jews lost their right to franchise and were forbidden to intermarry with Aryan Germans or to employ German females under the age of forty-five as domestic servants. The latter provision was a kind of racial grandmother clause. According to an additional stipulation in the foregoing law, Jews were also forbidden to display the swastika or to use the national colors.

Thus the Nuremberg laws dispelled the last hope that the Nazi program of racial discrimination would be abandoned or moderated. Since these laws made membership of the state contingent upon purity of German blood, citizens of Jewish ancestry were definitely reduced to an inferior status and were denied all political rights.

The policy of dissimilation and elimination of the Jews from the German *Volk* was implemented still further by the law of Jewish names, the stamp of the letter "J" on Jewish passports, the special identification cards for Jews, and the compulsory organization of all professions into the *Reichskulturkammer* (Cultural Organization for Germany), from which all non-Aryans were automatically excluded.

Deprivation of citizenship, denationalization, and exclusion from the professions clearly were invitations to emigrate. But a general exodus was hindered by the German currency laws, which rendered it virtually impossible for emigrants to take any of their property with them.[39] Refugees, therefore, faced the grim prospect of starvation or dependence on uncertain public relief. Moreover, very few countries extended a welcome to impoverished fugitives. On the contrary, it was in these fateful years that the gates of immigration countries were rather tightly barred to the Jews.

Nonetheless, it was inevitable that the social ostracism of the Jews, along with the political and economic restrictions directed against them, would result in large-scale emigration from the Reich. The subsequent influx of Jews into other countries—many of them into Palestine—created international perplexities which sorely taxed the resources of the League of Nations. On October 26, 1933, James G. McDonald was appointed high commissioner for refugees from Germany. Since ordinary measures of alleviation proved unavailing in dealing with this catastrophic problem, Mr. McDonald wrote a masterly letter of resignation to the president of the League, dated December 27, 1935.[40] The high commissioner explained that while some progress had been made in settling the more than 80,000 who had already left the Reich, there was no existing provision to accommodate the additional tens of thousands who were seeking to flee from the Reich as a result of the passing of the Nuremberg laws. Mr. McDonald compared the persecution of the Jews under Hitler to the time of the Middle Ages when they were massacred and expelled from the German states as the cause of the Black Death. He also referred to the influential section of the Nazi Party which set itself against both the Old Testament and parts of the New Testament and actively promoted the revival of neopaganism. He explained that the conceptions of blood, race, and soil, which were propagated with fanatical enthusiasm, menaced not only the Jews but also those who remained loyal to the old ideals of religious and individual freedom. The letter pictured the deplorable situation of the thousands who had emigrated from Germany practically penniless and who sought repatriation in other countries, near and far. In conclusion, Mr. McDonald urged that world opinion, acting through the League, take measures to avert further tragedies.

This letter became a cherished document, not only because it called attention to the suffering of the Jews in Germany, but also because it had the effect of emphasizing the responsibility of mankind in safeguarding the interests of minorities at all times elsewhere.

But Mr. McDonald's appeal, made in the name of humanity and intended as a challenge to the conscience of mankind, did not have the effect of ameliorating Jewish conditions in Germany. Unrelenting racial tests continued to be made applicable to all areas of life. On April 26, 1938, a decree by Field Marshal Goering called for an official registration and assessment of all remaining Jewish property, domestic and foreign.[41] Theoretically this measure was carried through as a part of the four-year-plan, which aimed to make Germany economically independent of foreign countries. But the real serviceability of the data thus obtained became manifest immediately after Ernst vom Rath, third secretary of the German embassy in Paris, was assassinated on November 7, 1938, by Herschel Grynzpan, a young Polish Jew, who apparently had determined to avenge his people by the deed. It resulted in an orgy of violence of several days' duration against the Jews. On November 12, Goering issued a series of additional decrees, imposing a one billion reichsmark atonement fine upon Jewry and virtually completing the elimination of the Jews from the economic life of the Reich.[42] In this manner the Nazi program of making Germany *Judenrein* was continued unabated.

Nazi Attacks Upon Jewish Religion

Until the rise of Hitlerism, Jews in Germany generally enjoyed the same rights of religious organization and association as did members of all other confessions. Theoretically, this privileged religious status was continued until March 28, 1938, at which time Kerrl, the Reich minister of church affairs, decreed that Jewish religious communities in Germany cease as public-law corporations and assume the status of ordinary associations, subject to the same restrictions as were business corporations.[43]

This meant that they could no longer levy taxes, but could thereafter exact only contributions from Jewish members. Jewish communities lost their tax exemptions and became subject to all discriminatory measures imposed on Jewish private property.

Before 1938 the attack upon the Jewish faith was largely indirect. While Hitler credited the Jews with definite race qualities, he did not believe that they possessed a real religion in the idealistic Aryan sense. Even the sublime Founder of Christianity, Hitler pointed out, took to the whip to drive out of the Lord's temple this adversary of all humanity who even then, as always, saw in religion only a means for his business existence.[44] Accordingly, during the decade before Hitler's assumption of power, the Nazi Party encouraged a covert program of violence, arson, and desecration particularly against synagogues. The acts of desecration usually took the form of breaking windowpanes, tearing down and trampling the Torah scrolls, and covering the walls with swastikas and anti-Semitic slogans, such as *Deutschland, Erwecke; Juda Verrecke; Juda den Tod; Die Rache naht* ("Germany, awake;" "Judah perish;" "Death to Judah;" "Vengeance approaches"). Since the synagogue was the pivot of every Jewish settlement, the Nazi policy of disfiguring and even destroying such edifices was not only a blow to religious observance but to all Jewish communal existence as well.[45]

After Hitler came to power there was, surprisingly enough, a temporary cessation of these attacks. While rabbis were arrested occasionally for praying for the welfare of their people and while sporadic outbursts did occur, the Nazis for a time seem to have relied mainly on the indirect process of slow extermination by cutting off every political, economic, social, and cultural root of German-Jewish life.

This initial policy of toleration toward Jewish worship was largely attributable to the influence of the Christian churches, whose leaders stood in heroic defense of the Old Testament and its teachings. Nazi leaders, moreover, doubtless hoped that a less violent attitude toward Jewish religion would help in winning approval for Nazism both within Germany and abroad while Hitler forces were engaged in preparing a concordat and a constitution for the Christian churches and were consolidating their gains in other important areas of activity.

But a real campaign of physical destruction began in the spring of 1938. In Munich and Nuremberg synagogues were razed to the ground, ostensibly with a view to improving the architecture and conveniences of these municipalities. Many other German cities followed this example. During the wave of terror against Jewry which followed the assassination of Vom Rath in November, 1938, organized Nazi wreckers forced their way into synagogues, sprayed the interiors with inflammable material, and set the buildings on fire. In some places Jews themselves were forced to set fire to their own buildings, and those who refused were beaten and sometimes killed. Not infrequently rabbis, whose distinctive garb made them easy victims, were singled out for particularly brutal treatment by such acts as having their beards cut off and being forced to witness the desecration and burning of their synagogues.[46]

The first show of moderation toward Jewish religion had given way to these drastic measures by a gradual process. Jewish religious works had been among the first to be destroyed during the Nazi book-burning campaigns after 1933. Jews in concentration camps and in factories were generally forced to work on the Sabbath. Early in 1933, Jewish religious instruction had begun to be severely restricted, and ultimately all allotments of public funds for purposes of Jewish religious education were abolished. On April 21, 1933, a general anti-shehitah law, prohibiting the slaying of animals according to Jewish ritual, had been enacted for the entire Reich.[47] The Jewish celebration of the Passover was especially reprehensible to the Nazis, for it was a reminder of the liberation of the Jewish people from Egyptian taskmasters who had long since turned to dust. Likewise Purim, a Jewish festival commemorating the defeat of Haman's plot to massacre the Jews in Esther's time, was equally obnoxious to a community which sought to rid itself of Jewry.

The poison of anti-Semitism began spreading to other European countries, especially to Italy and Eastern Europe. Later it was also carried to West European countries occupied by the Nazis. While Jewish persecutions in these areas were not carried out to the same murderous degree as in Germany, they followed the same pattern: social discrimination, pogroms, and expulsion.

In the course of their unrelenting struggle against Judaism, the Nazis had to reckon with the influence of Christian forces, for it was impossible to eliminate the heritage of Judaism without sacrificing certain fundamental aspects of Christianity itself.

When, therefore, Rosenberg wrote, "Once and for all we must get rid of the so-called Old Testament as a religious text, for only so can we end the misbegotten attempt of the last millennium and a half to make us spiritually into Jews,"[48] Cardinal Faulhaber answered, "Nobody must tread with his feet on the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, for the name of God is written there."[49]

While discussing Hitler's avowed objective to accomplish the physical and cultural destruction of Judaism, Karl Barth declared, "Who persecutes the Jews persecutes Him who died for the sins of the Jews."[50]

After Bishop Ludwig Mueller sought to defend the introduction of the Aryan paragraph into the church with the explanation that equality before God did not exclude inequality among men as God created them, two thousand Protestant pastors answered that the Aryan paragraph violated the gospel and the fundamental principles of the ministry.[51] Subsequently the entire faculty of the University of Marburg drew up a statement to the effect that the Aryan legislation contradicted the universality of Christian brotherhood as created by baptism.[52]

In thus opposing racial doctrines and discriminations, an influential section of the Christian forces within Germany tended to exercise a restraining influence upon Hitler's anti-Semitic program.

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that no inconsiderable number of religious leaders were in agreement with policies calculated to curb Jewish influences in Germany. Among these was Dr. Gross, an influential figure on racial problems, who tried to make it clear that the racial basis of National Socialism did not presume either to condemn or to justify another racial group. He contended that individuals and people could achieve their mission only as they lived according to their own law which had been laid down by their blood inheritance. Thus the world of the Negro, the Eskimo, or the Mongolian must be regulated according to the laws of his own blood. Even so, reasoned Dr. Gross, must also be granted to the German the right to order his world in harmony with his concept of race. He must guard against every inroad of the living structure of another race as a matter of right, equality, and survival.[53]

In discussing the position of the Catholic Church in its dealings with the Jewish problem, Dr. Kofler sought to prove that anti-Semitism finds support in the teachings and historical development of the Catholic Church. "The principle of love for others is wrongly applied," Kofler contended, "when it spares aliens and sacrifices one's own people."[54]

While generally opposing what was regarded as an extremely un-Biblical anti-Semitism, some Protestant pastors had called attention to an allegedly approved Biblical anti-Semitism, even before Hitler came to power. Accordingly, those who accepted the New Testament as God's word were reminded of statements regarding the stiff-necked and uncircumcised hearts of those Jews, who did not please God and were contrary to all men.[55] While freely conceding that Palestine belonged to the Jews, from Dan to Beersheba, these pastors insisted that Germany belonged to the Germans. Therefore in the German homeland the Jews could not be accepted as lords.[56]

Such reasoning was strengthened when in 1933 the theological faculty of Erlangen declared that while all Christians were common children of God, biological and social distinctions still had to be reckoned with, and that the church should recognize the basic right of the state to regulate such questions.[57]

Nonetheless, it was nothing uncommon for Jews to join the Protestant church. This was largely the result of the *Judenmission,* which generally succeeded in winning several hundred proselytes annually. Few, however, joined the Catholic Church, which had no organized mission for Jews in Germany. Seldom did Jews join other religious minorities unless it was economically advantageous to do so.[58]

Since the war's end, Jews in Germany have enjoyed complete freedom of person and worship; and there are signs of a revival of religious interest among them. But German Jewry is faced with the struggle of overcoming the tremendous handicap caused by the destruction of life, culture, and property. Thousands emigrated to Palestine, and other thousands of "illegal" immigrants were interned in camps on the island of Cyprus. Many, however, chose to remain in occupied Germany.

Curiously, both Jews and Germans today are looking forward to the rebuilding of their respective homelands: Palestine, where Christ was born, and Germany, where the Reformation was born. Both areas, however, are victims of political rivalry and uncertainty—pawns in the international struggle for political domination and military advantage.

While these earthly forces are contending for supremacy, the Jew today, as yesterday, remains a living witness that God is God and man is man; and that there is salvation for man through none other than the God-man Christ Jesus, a sinless Jew in human flesh, made to be sin for us, that we, Jew and Gentile alike, "might be made the righteousness of God in Him."[59]

This is the world's only hope. The Jewish prophets preached it; the Gospels, written by converted Jews, teach it; and Jesus Himself said: "Salvation is of the Jews."[60]

The Jews rejected Him; the Nazis Aryanized Him; both failed Him. Yet, towering above the failures of both Judaism and Nazism still stands the redeeming figure of Christ, saying, "Come unto Me. . . . And learn of Me."[61]

Meanwhile the blood of Abraham still flows in Jewish veins. In spite of the apostasy of the Jews and in spite of their dispersion and persecutions, God's purposes are being fulfilled. Every page of Luther's Bible conveys the blessings of the seed of Abraham; and every time the book of Daniel is read, no matter in what language, that exiled youth leader of Abraham's ancient seed proclaims anew that the kingdoms of earth, including all dictatorships, from that of Nebuchadnezzar on, will ultimately yield to God's blessed kingdom which shall never be destroyed.[62]

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Conclusion

THE storm and frenzy of Nazidom culminating in the fall of the German gods have caused all the world to wonder how a nation, held in high esteem as one of the most civilized in the world, could be brought under the control of power-drunk zealots whose fanatical devotion to nationalism, racialism, and paganism led them to imprison, exile, and execute millions of persons within Germany or countries occupied by Germany, to say nothing about additional millions who were sacrificed in the course of World War II, which ultimately tore asunder the military, political, and economic might of Hitler's thousand-year Reich and exposed its hollow ethical and religious bases.

What, then, is the lesson that fallen Germany would teach? May it not be that other nations which think they stand should take heed lest they, too, sink into the pit of National Socialism? Surely the words of the ancient ruler are as true today as they were yesterday: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it."[1]

Basically it was the weakening of Christianity in Germany that paved the way for National Socialism to galvanize the nation under a dictator who promised to accomplish the tasks the German people were unwilling or unable to do for themselves. In this process, however, Christian ethics and moral self-reliance were sacrificed. This fact must be understood. When collectivism takes over, individualism goes under.

It must be understood, moreover, that in National Socialism one sees reflected the spirit of our age, which is no longer limited to Germany. Benevolent as centralized authority promises to be, whether in Germany, Russia, or any other nation, the sure end thereof is loss of freedom and persecution.

For that reason it is important that the recent religious struggle in totalitarian Germany be studied. Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it.

After a careful survey of the appalling and complex record of Nazi domination in Germany, one thing stands out clearly: National Socialism itself was essentially a religious phenomenon, and its real strength lay not merely in what was written about it in books, but rather in the fact that it was lived by the people. To millions, Hitlerism was more than *eine Bewegung* (a movement); it was manifestly *die Erhebung* (the uplifting) of the people, reinforced by a humanist philosophy and brutal measures. Consequently Germany became a battlefield on which the churches had to fight for their spiritual and material existence. It was a struggle for the old truths in a new Reich.

Still another fact stands out: National Socialism was not only anti-Christian in its influence, but also pre-Christian in its concepts. It sank its roots into, and derived much of its strength from, the elemental forces which had influenced Teutonic nature before Christianity came to restrain and tame that nature. Supporting the state, with all its organizations, literature, and training courses, lay the Nazi *Weltanschauung*, based on the heroic and pagan concepts of folk, blood, and soil.

This revived paganism was not godlessness. It was the worship of natural forces as if these constituted the Godhead. It demanded the homage and subordination of all activities and spheres of life. By its very nature National Socialism became the rival of Christianity; for it, too, concerns itself with the whole of life.

Even though the Nazis claimed the sanction of religion for their movement and sought to enrich the vocabulary of their humanist philosophy from the Christian treasure of ideas, they found it difficult to reconstruct Christianity into the framework of their racialist *Weltanschauung*. In fact, the basic principles of these two forces were found to be irreconcilable. Racialism posited the inequality of the human races and aimed at the promotion of one race, the Germanic Aryan race. Christianity, on the other hand, believes in the equality of all races, and teaches that Christ lived and died for all humanity. Racialism anathematized the Jew. Christianity sees in him a fellow brother, and accepts the Old Testament among its sacred books. Racialism stressed heroism, and glorified it in struggle and combat. Christianity emphasizes meekness, peace, and love. Whatever love there was in the positive Christianity of the Nazi program was interpreted as love of one's racial comrades.

Yet in fairness to National Socialism it must be conceded that, to a limited degree, its ideology and program of positive Christianity created an exemplary—if exclusive—folkic community, which found expression in the comradeship of the Hitler Youth, the excursions of the Strength through Joy organization, and the liberality of the nondenominational Winter Relief groups. The concordat with the Holy See and the law for the safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church represented definite attempts on the part of the Nazi government to help the churches to adjust themselves to changed conditions. One seeks in vain for evidences of antireligious phraseology in the legislative program of National Socialism. Its conflict with the churches was mainly over ideological influences and administrative functions. The real spiritual question was whether the Nazi ideal of the nation was to become the leading force in the history of the people, or whether the spirit of Christianity should prevail.

From the very beginning the position of organized religion had been weakened by reason of the fact that when Nazism came to power the churches continued their demand for legal recognition and for financial aid from the state. This was granted. However, it was only natural, the Nazis reasoned, that if they were expected to support the churches financially, in return the government had valid claims on the churches.

This point was brought home to the churches by Hitler in a speech before the Reichstag, on January 30, 1939, in which he asserted that between the years 1933-1938 the state had placed at the disposal of both churches annual sums ranging from 130,000,000 to 500,000,000 reichsmarks, besides the millions paid to the churches by the separate states and parishes. With unconcealed scorn the Fuehrer declared that if the German churches regarded this situation as intolerable, the National Socialist government would be ready to undertake a clear separation of church and state as is the case in France, America, and certain other countries. He alleged that the state had not closed a church, nor prevented the holding of a religious service, nor exercised any influence upon the form of a religious service. But he indicated that political agitators among the priests had come into conflict with the laws of the state. The German priest as a servant of God would be protected, declared the Fuehrer, but the priest as a political enemy of the German state would be destroyed.[2]

While this was a harsh-sounding statement of church policy, it cannot be said that Hitler's position was entirely inconsistent. To a certain extent, the churches in Germany had failed in the day of their opportunity. When religious interests were astir during the period of adversity after World War I, instead of capitalizing upon the favorable conditions to shake themselves loose from political alliances and depend more fully upon their inner spiritual resources to preach the gospel, the churches remained content to be tied to the aristocracy and to the state, until National Socialism captured the state and began to jeopardize church interests. This infringement was the inevitable result of the all-pervading policies of Hitler's racialist state, upon which the churches continued to depend for financial support.

At this point it may be well to recall that Christianity had its beginning as a unique spiritual force, impelled by the power of love. As long as the Christian church was driven by its native evangelical zeal it had no need to make claims upon a political organization, except to ennoble it by converting its citizens. This, however, implies a separation of church and state, even as was suggested by the Founder of Christianity Himself.[3]

This ideal was never fully realized in Germany. Empire builders from Charlemagne to Hitler were allured by the idea of absorbing church power in their regimes and utilizing it as an aid to their political control. On the other hand, to control the state and make it serve the interests of the church became, at times, the consuming ambition of churchmen. The conflicts resulting from such designs constitute a series of unhappy events with which the student of history is well acquainted. The so-called medieval unity of Christendom was anything but a glory age for either church or state.

From the foregoing it is apparent that Hitler's struggle with the churches was merely one of the latest developments of the age-old problem of church-state relations. A survey of the religious policies of the Third Reich makes it clear that, to a large degree, the Fuehrer's attitude toward the churches was influenced by political considerations. Thus on the eve of the Protestant church election, in 1933, Hitler personally broadcast a message in behalf of the German Christians who, he said, represented that portion of the Evangelical community which had set foot on the sure ground of the National Socialist state. Again, in the same year, the Reich concordat was ratified on condition that the Catholic parties yield to political effacement, an action in line with Hitler's policy of having only one political party for all Germans. It was a signal triumph in Hitler's unholy rise to power.

Political ingenuity doubtless also figured in the fact that the currency and immorality trials were not undertaken until a plebiscite had safely returned the Catholic Saar territory to the Reich on March 1, 1935. In the fall of the same year the arrangement of the Reich church committee was calculated to lessen the tension of church-state relations and produce the appearance of peace, at least with the popular *Landeskirchen,* because the Olympic games were to be held in Berlin in 1936.

During the struggle the government at times even curbed the activities of neopagan groups in response to protests registered by church leaders, for by so doing the Nazis hoped to win the support of influential groups within the Christian churches.

It may be admitted that Hitler often proved himself a shrewd politician. He knew when to assert his authority and act, and he also knew when to dissimulate and temporize. He knew, for illustration, how to win the socialist enthusiasm of the small businessman while at the same time making his Reich acceptable to the big industrialist. With the same sagacity he knew the value of satisfactory church and state relations. He recognized the importance that many Germans attached to religious worship, and he intended to co-ordinate that religious worship so that the loyalty of the religiously minded Germans would be an asset to National Socialism, not a divisive element.

This attempt of using the churches as a political instrument for molding the masses, and even employing the German Christians as an ideological bridgehead within the church, was soon abandoned, and a better-integrated, homemade Nazi *Weltanschauung* was substituted.

It cannot be concluded, therefore, that Hitler was motivated altogether by political considerations. While these figured importantly, it must also be observed that he believed in and supported Naziology with all the passionate conviction of which his emotional personality was capable. It will be remembered that Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* stood beside *Mein Kampf* as one of the sacred books of National Socialism. Although some of the Nazi leaders, Goebbels for illustration, disliked Rosenberg, Hitler regarded the author of *Der Mythus* as the inspired philosopher of the movement and entrusted him with the ideological training and instruction of the party. It will be recalled, furthermore, that Rosenberg was the most prolific of the Nazi writers and also editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the chief organ of Hitler's government. The authoritative position of Rosenberg, then, is proof—if indeed

Mein Kampf by itself is not sufficient evidence—that Hitler's policies were determined by something more than political opportunism. They were also based on his belief in a *Weltanschauung* which advocated the pre-eminence—even the worship—of a racially pure and united *Volk*. The complete victory of this *Weltanschauung* was hindered by such loyalties and principles as were advocated by both the Catholic and the Evangelical Church.

Hitler's zealous devotion to a racially pure and united *Volk* found signal expression in the nationality and race legislation passed by the combined Reichstag and Nazi Party meeting at Nuremberg, September 15, 1935. These measures distinguished between those who merely belonged to the state and those who were bona fide citizens of the Reich and admittedly aimed to denationalize and disfranchise the Jews and restrict German citizenship to those of German or kindred blood. The law for the protection of German blood and honor, in addition, restricted marriage between Jews and citizens of the Reich under penalty of nullity of marriage and imprisonment.

According to these Nuremberg laws, birth within the country, residence, public service, distinguished achievement, or moral or civil accomplishment did not itself qualify for citizenship. Primarily the test was racial. If a person was not an Aryan as the term was defined by German law he could not be a citizen; he could only be an unwelcome guest. In this respect the law was without precedent in the nationality legislation of modern civilized states.[4]

In thus singling out the Jews, who as defined by supplementary legislation came to number more than two million of the German population, and in denationalizing them without distinction, the laws were particularly severe. Henceforth the Jews' place in Nazidom came to be that which in other states is usually reserved for the intellectually and morally unfit.

This legalized extension of racial stigma was not only one of Hitler's worst crimes, but it was also one of his greatest political mistakes. Thousands of these Germanized Jews were ardent nationalists and unexcelled exponents of German culture. Their influence was world-wide. To the degree, therefore, that Hitler exterminated them he exterminated German culture and turned world opinion against the Reich.

While this form of legislation was particularly gratifying to the more extreme element of the Nazi Party, as represented by such leaders as Julius Streicher and Rosenberg, it rested heavily on the conscience of the substantial membership of the Christian churches who saw in these laws an infringement on the rights of mankind and a violation of Christian principles. But religious scruples were forced to yield to racial interests and excessive patriotism.

Hitler's devotion to his folkic community and his passion for unity knew no bounds. He came to share the earnest desire of many others for an interconfessional or national church, neither Catholic nor Protestant—a newly born church—where all Germans could kneel without distinction before a common altar. As has already been made clear, this goal called for the elimination of the "Jewish materialistic spirit" and a synthesis of national and religious faith, as free as possible from Roman Catholic control and including the various Protestant sects in such a way that the duality of the churches would cease to be prejudicial to the inner peace and unity of the state. There were some who regarded Hitler's efforts in this direction as a very special work of God's mercy toward the German people.[5]

But well-intentioned as the Fuehrer may have been in thus seeking a common basis for religious worship in a country where upwards of two thirds of his subjects were Protestants and about one third were Catholics, his plan was certain to meet with failure, because each group had an unyielding number of those who clung tenaciously to the traditional and historical tenets of their respective faiths. According to one group, Hitler was not a real Christian, because his policies were thought to be incompatible with Catholicism;[6] and according to another, the Fuehrer's course of action was the antithesis of Christianity.[7]

It is readily understandable that a government which aimed to bring unity to its people would be unsympathetic toward church divisions and inner church struggles, and that it would view church opposition to state policies as inimical to the racial community.

The Nazis erred in thinking that unity of the people should result in unity of the church, because a *Volk* is something quite different from a church. That is the chief reason why the plan of a national people's church, as advocated by leaders like Bergmann and Rosenberg, never got beyond the Utopian stage.

While a status of fragmentation in things religious had its liabilities, this division of the German churches, territorially and dogmatically, served as one of the barriers against the Nazi attempts to bring all phases of German life, including religion, into conformity with the policies of the totalitarian Reich. From the very beginning the program of unification was weakened when the Nazis were forced to reckon with both Catholicism and Protestantism. The resistance of certain *Landeskirchen* and the free synod movement further hindered co-ordination and saved the Confessional Church from a unified control by secular leadership. The Barmen declaration became a kind of Magna Charta which reaffirmed the Biblicism of the Reformation and denied the right of the state to force its ideology upon the church. The goal of bringing all these scattered forces of religious opposition under one control proved to be impossible. In other words, Hitler found that many religious heads were more difficult to cut off than one would have been.

These divided church interests were among the conditions discussed by Hans Kerrl, the Reich minister of church affairs, in his famous speech at Fulda on November 23, 1937, at a great Nazi demonstration.[8] As noted, it was on this occasion that Kerrl referred to National Socialism as a religious movement which not only recognized the relationship to God and the divine ordering of things, but which also knew these things by experience. During four and a half years, he stated, it had been the business of National Socialism to practice positive Christianity and exhibit a faith that really moved mountains. The Reich minister also maintained that the government had tried to work frankly with the confessions from the beginning. The state had made a concordat with the Roman Catholic Church, and had done its best to promote a national church.

While neither the state nor the party could be associated with any particular group, it could not be said, argued Kerrl, that the National Socialist Party had been antichurch, anti-Christian, or antireligious. Notwithstanding its tolerance, the state had continually been assaulted by the clergy of both confessions, and consequently, since 1933, there had been seven thousand proceedings against representatives of the churches. If the religious communities had attended to their religion as they should have done, they could quite easily have lived at peace with the National Socialist state. According to Kerrl, the free churches had been successful because they were nonpolitical.

It really was not the business of the National Socialist government to support the churches financially, Kerrl maintained. That, he insisted, was the business of those who believed in them, and remained an aim to be accomplished in the future. Indeed, the church policy of the National Socialists, he said, aimed to turn the political churches into true religious communities. With this in view the state had tried to overcome the strife of parties in the Evangelical Church by means of church committees, but the church parties would not cooperate. The Fuehrer had then offered new elections, but the church parties could not compose their differences to make an election possible.

The Reich minister insisted that in spite of this baleful church strife the state had not interfered with the rights of the church. He pointed out, however, that the state could not allow the collection of money for purposes of promoting church parties or for antistate propaganda. Neither could the church expect to have a monopoly of education. The National Socialist state must bring up the youth in the way it thought right.

He also contended that Christ did not call upon the churches to fight against the National Socialist race teaching, for He had Himself conducted an unexampled struggle against the Jews, and for that reason they had crucified Him. In short, Kerrl averred that the essential teachings of Christianity did not conflict with the principles of National Socialism, and therefore the German people could not allow themselves to be held up in their march to the future by the contentions of political church circles.

The Reich minister of church affairs failed to recognize that church history has its own epochs, and that these do not always harmonize with the epochs of world history. It was one of the errors of National Socialism to insist that with the political upsurge there should also be a rebirth of the church in support of Hitlerism. Equally erroneous was the thought that the new racial community must bring an end to all differences of belief within German Christianity.

Since its beginning the Christian church has never been characterized by being at one with the world. Its task is to preach the gospel and to confront man with the living God. Wherever this happens the influence of the church cannot be confined to a spiritual ghetto. An attack on the world is made and is answered at once by hidden or open hostility. For this reason a real church in Nazi Germany was impossible unless it differed essentially from the policies of National Socialism.

The German church controversy may teach the rest of the Christian churches the world over, something of the dangers that are inherent in present-day trends toward unification and regimentation. Under the new slogan, "One World or None," humanity finds itself under the compulsion of flocking together for security like frightened sheep—and not without cause. The dangers are real and terrible.

In a sense our world has been One World ever since the beginning of time. To be sure, modern science has shrunk earth's dimensions to a degree unknown to previous generations; and it is quite apparent that no nation in the present age can live unto itself and escape its obligations toward other nations, or make itself immune from attack by other nations.

Recognizing, however, that the pendulum in human affairs tends to swing to extremes, should we not pause to ask ourselves if collectivism, be it national or international, will actually make for greater security? If the answer is in the affirmative, would not the simplest procedure be to turn our nation, or the world, over to the Kremlin, let us say, without more ado?

The problems of this world cannot be solved so readily as that. Not all the world is willing to be turned into a glorified Kremlin.

This world once was under one rule. It was a divine rule, before the fall of man broke the unity and peace of his sinless estate. This world will once again be placed under one rule, where "there shall be one fold, and one Shepherd."[9] But that will not take place until God's cleansing fire first burns up every trace of sin,[10] which has been at the bottom of this world's disunity and sorrow ever since Adam and Eve forfeited their Eden home.

Meanwhile, man being what he is,—sinful, selfish, and intolerant,—is it not better to maintain the check and balance that comes by having the rule of different nations, with diversified groups within the nations themselves?

One World under one rule! How far-reaching are its implications! How fateful have been its consequences—as was the case with Hitler's Germany, to cite the latest and most glaring of a whole series of tragic examples.

Totalitarianism, in this present world, whether political, religious, or both, has grave dangers. It cannot survive without also being authoritarian, and an authoritarian totalitarianism has precisely those elements that made National Socialism possible. A police state under any dictatorship is much the same, no matter under what name it is disguised, and no matter whether it is attempted on a national scale or on a world-wide basis. As a general thing, dictatorships start in with promises of local benevolence and end up by trying to take in the entire world.

It will be remembered that early in the experience of the human family the postdiluvians tried to build a one-world community around a tower that was to reach to heaven.[11] They did this for reasons of security—against another possible deluge. By divine intervention this plan was defeated by the confusion of their tongues, followed by a dispersion of peoples and the beginning of separate nations. From that time until now the multilingual state of our world has been a barrier to enterprising "one-worlders."

Centuries after this early Babel plan had failed, and after several other world empires had collapsed as well, the apostle Paul—who incidentally was no mean internationalist—observed that while God made of one blood all men to dwell on all the face of the earth, He also determined the bounds of their habitation.[12]

From this it appears that God in His wisdom intended that in the present world order, nations should exist separately, although not of necessity inimically so; and that no single power should exceed the bounds of others with a view to lording it over them. In this manner nations would serve to supplement and check each other.

Notwithstanding God's design, the human urge to regiment human affairs according to human designs is about as old as the human family. Two thousand years before Christ, Hammurabi tried to control wages and prices. Later, Nebuchadnezzar sought to achieve a golden age by co-ordinating and unifying this One World with the help of a fiery furnace.[13] How like Hitler!

The fact should never be lost sight of that the United States Constitution, which provides for a distribution of power, is still the one priceless document which stands between us and age-old tyranny. It was written by men who themselves went through a unique set of experiences. Among other things, they had firsthand contact with centralized forces of intolerance growing out of the Old World theory of rule by divine right. Gladstone appropriately declared the United States Constitution to be the most wonderful work ever struck off by the brain and purpose of man.

This "wonderful work" has helped to make America strong, because it guarantees human freedom. But there is grave danger today that this freedom be taken for granted, or that it be bartered away for promises of greater security.

The battle of human liberty must be fought over again in every generation. It must be fought for most earnestly today, for now, as never before, there are tendencies to abuse this freedom; and, what is more, there are those who are ready to relieve us of our duties and responsibilities of being free men. In fact, they promise to make life easy for us—at a price! All we have to do is to put our constitutional safeguards on the counter.

Put away the old horse-and-buggy idea of separation of power, they say in effect, and let us become streamlined, centralized. Let us be done with the outmoded notion of separation of church and state, for instance, which leads to religious splintering. Instead, let us consolidate our religious forces, they urge, so that we may speak with power.

But far from being a sign of weakness or disgrace, separation of church and state, which makes the fragmentation of religion possible, is America's greatest strength and glory. It is religious liberty and freedom of conscience that made America the land of a second chance for thousands of regimented nationals after they escaped the persecutions of church-state regimes in the Old World.

True, there have been occasional excesses in some misguided religious circles in America. But are these worse than strapping religion to the state and then backing the combination with police power, with mere toleration, or even persecution, of religious minorities?

An attempt is being made today to break down the constitutional wall of separation between church and state. Contrary to constitutional principles, there are those who, for instance, are clamoring for the teaching of religion in public schools and for the use of tax money for the support of parochial schools. Such provisions, it is argued, are necessary as a means to curb secularism and prevent the establishment of the omnipotent state.

Those who reason this way seem to forget that church and state were united in Germany, and that excellent religious courses were taught in their public schools. But such measures did not prevent the rise of Hitler's omnipotent state in that unhappy land. The fact is that the signing of the concordat of 1933, which provided for special religious interests, helped Hitler to power.

Laudable as may be the objectives of churchmen who encourage a union of church and state, who labor to improve economic and political problems, and who seek world unity of Christendom, it must be remembered that Jesus spent little time in talking about politics, social reforms, and church administration. His aim was to change the heart—to make people strong spiritually. In His own words, He came "to seek and to save that which was lost."[14]

Given a people with spiritual sensibilities and unselfish hearts filled with love for God and man, will not the problems relating to politics, social reforms, and church unity largely take care of themselves? "If men be good," said William Penn, "their government cannot be bad."

Unfortunately, in the course of time the Germans lost their zeal for personal holiness and soul-winning endeavors, which is the essence of Christianity, and which was one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Reformation movement. Instead of following up the advantages of Luther's open Bible by continuing to proclaim righteousness by faith and the freedom of the Christian man, with democracy and civil liberties as the sure result of such teachings, they became content to be corralled by a union of church and state, which stifled missionary enterprise and tended to reduce their churches to spiritual cemeteries. Luther did not intend that the Reformation should end in the sixteenth century. He knew that every generation must be inspired anew by the preaching of God's word and the sharing of Christian faith with those who have it not.

However, it must always be remembered that the territorial divisions of the German churches into *Landeskirchen* were not of their own making but were the result of political developments. It must be remembered, too, that many Germans are far from lacking in individualism, conviction, and initiative. Not all of them are easily led into cults of Fuehrerism and pagan myths.

This was demonstrated by the degree of strength and conviction with which the German church resisted the program of total Nazification. Protesting in defense of their faith appears to be in the make-up of Germanic peoples. In times of spiritual decline the Spirit of God has repeatedly used men like Wycliffe, Luther, Zwingli, Miller, Schweitzer, Barth, Niemoeller, and many others, who were exemplary in Christian service and who urged forward movements in faith through the preaching of God's Holy Word.

But for all that, modern Germany has been found wanting. There is something ironic in the fact that the land where the first blows of religious freedom were struck became victimized by political chicanery and religious inertia.

But God is no more a respecter of Germans than He is of other persons. They retained the form of godliness but denied the power thereof. Although 95 per cent of them were church members, only 2 to 10 per cent attended services.[15] The church was used for the formalities of baptisms, confirmations, weddings, and funerals; but the hearts of worshipers were largely void of the regenerating power of the Holy Spirit. This gave National Socialism its chance to try its own creative capacities in the field of religion. The *ersatz* worship of the gods of nationalism, racialism, and paganism, permeated by the cult of Fuehrerism, led to Germany's collapse.

Now two giants are contending for the control of prostrate

Germany. Both are grooming the Germans to help them in the pending struggle for control of this One World.

Will either of these powers achieve world unity, or will they merely succeed in destroying each other—and possibly the earth?

Could it be that the prediction of divine intervention to "destroy them which destroy the earth"[16] will come as an act of mercy?

This much is certain: God will purge the earth. It will be a total purge that will consume not only such false gods as the Germans worshiped, but will destroy the devil himself and "whatsoever worketh abomination, or maketh a lie."[17] God's total purge will prepare the earth for total righteousness.

What, then, may the Germans expect? What may all members of the human race look forward to? According to God's promise, all may "look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness."[18]

In preparation for that new creation only one thing counts: every man must become a new creature in Christ Jesus,[19] for only new hearts will have an abiding place there.

It is, therefore, not Pan-Germanism, not Pan-Slavism, not even Pan-Americanism, that will come into permanent possession of the earth. Instead, Pan-Immanuelism will inherit God's new creation—One World without end.

> For a child is born to us, a son is given to us;
> And the government will be upon His shoulder;
> And His name will be called
> "Wonderful counselor is God Almighty,
> Father forever, Prince of Peace."
> Of the increase of His government, and of peace,
> There will be no end,
> Upon the throne of David, and over His kingdom,
> To establish it, and to uphold it,
> In justice and in righteousness,
> From henceforth, even forever.
> The zeal of the Lord of hosts will do this.[20]

CHAPTER NOTES

Notes to Chapter 1

Germany, the Land of Religious Struggles

1. The strength of the Nazi movement resided in a population group of from twenty to thirty-five years of age. Cf. Leon W. Fuller, "Education in Germany Under the National Socialist Regime," *The Department of State Bulletin,* vol. 11, No. 279 (Oct. 29, 1944), p. 511.

2. The population of Germany, according to religious affiliations in 1933, was approximately as follows: Protestants, 40,000,000; Catholics, 20,000,000; believing Jews, 500,000. See Appendix 5.

Notes to Chapter 2

The Fall of the German Gods

1. The Hitler Youth organization (*Hitler Jugend*) played a fundamental role in the fiery Nazi movement. Supreme allegiance to Hitler was expressed as follows: *"Befiehl, Fuehrer, wir folgen!"* ("Only command, leader, we will follow!")

Illustrative of other youth movements in German history are the *Burschenschaften,* which as university fraternities were pledged to advance German liberty and unity during the stirring times of 1848; and the *Wandervögel* (birds of passage), who at the turn of the century initiated a back-to-nature movement, seeking liberation from the artificial and conventional restrictions of life. Young Germans like the *Burschenschaften* and *Wandervögel* have always been in Germany. They are the great hope of a Fourth Reich, a new German state built on the principles of democracy.

2. *"Heute hört uns Deutschland,"* jubilated the hopeful youth; *"Morgen die ganze Welt!"* ("Today Germany hears us; tomorrow the entire world!") Non-Germans subsequently added the syllable *ge* to *hört,* giving the slogan a more ambitious slant: *"Heute gehört uns Deutschland; Morgen die ganze Welt!"* ("Today Germany is ours; tomorrow the entire world!") Apparently the Germans liked the idea, for later on they themselves occasionally used the revised version.

3. Siegfried, the youthful hero of the Nibelungenlied, was put to death by a treacherous stab in the back, administered by the notorious Hagen. Recalling their proud racial heritage, the German youth vicariously sought to vindicate the blood spilled by Siegfried and by other German heroes, thus making Siegfriedism a virtual religion. They believed that Germany had lost World War I as the result of a stab in the back (*Dolchstoss*) perpetrated upon their fatherland by internationalist Jews and other weak-kneed pacifists.

4. Cf. Wm. Hallock Johnson, "Superman: His Ancestry and Works," *Theology Today,* vol. 1, No. 2 (July, 1944), pp. 180, 181. Also cf. Johann Neuhäusler, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz,* pt. 1, p. 248.

5. *Sieg Heil* literally means, "Hail, Victory!" In the Nazi vocabulary the word *Heil* was especially sacrosanct. It conveyed the further idea of healing and salvation.

6. Acts 12:20-23; Proverbs 14:34.

7. Heinrich Heine's *Lorelei,* which had become a national folk song known to every German child, was printed under the words "Poet unknown," because the author was a Jew.

8. Cf. Hans Preuss, *Martin Luther, der Deutsche* (Gütersloh, 1934), p. 97.

9. Luke 13:1-5.

10. Cf. Lamentations 3:40.

11. Lamentations 1:12.

12. John Donne, *Devotions,* No. 17.

Notes to Chapter 3

The Captivity of Berlin and the Condition of German Protestantism

1. In any dealings with the Russians the language barrier must be taken into account. The Russian language is probably as difficult for Westerners as is Chinese. Few master it; hence, a linguistic iron curtain exists between us and the Russians.

2. Some five hundred top German scientists were brought to the United States secretly after the war to serve as a kind of super brain trust to develop new weapons. These were rounded up after the fall of Germany by American military intelligence officials under Operation Paper Clip in a spirited race with the British and Russian military authorities, who were bent on the same venture. Eighty per cent of those brought to the United States agreed to remain permanently. Cf. *Spokesman Review,* Jan. 4, 1949.

3. Quoted in "German Martyrs," *Time,* vol. 36, No. 26 (Dec. 23, 1940), pp. 38-41.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Estimates of Nazi Party membership in Hitler's Germany range anywhere from three million in 1933 to six million in 1938.

6. OMGUS, *Report of the Military Governor,* May, 1947, to April, 1948, "Education and Cultural Relations," pp. 77-87.

7. Seventh-day Adventists have regular Sabbath services in all the fifty-eight churches of the Berlin Conference. Several of these churches are in Berlin proper. All Adventist churches in Germany and elsewhere in the world are supported by tithes and offerings.

In December, 1948, the Associated Students of Walla Walla College, College Place, Washington, sent a Christmas gift of $700 to help in building up a Christian school in Darmstadt, Germany.

8. Report on the Visit of the World Council Delegation to Germany, Oct., 1945. *Not Strangers but Brethren* (New York, 1945), p. 8 *et seq.*

9. On December 9, 1946, my wife and I had the privilege of a personal interview with Pastor and Mrs. Niemoeller at the Multnomah Hotel, Portland, Oregon.

The night before, we had attended a mass meeting at the city auditorium. The next day we were present at a special meeting of the Portland Ministerial Association, and again at a joint meeting of the Portland Chamber of Commerce and the Ministerial Association.

At each of these meetings Niemoeller discussed some phase of the German church problem, and he also related his experiences as a prisoner.

For me this was a never-to-be-forgotten opportunity to get valuable source material, besides having the pleasure of meeting these interesting and affable representatives of German Protestantism.

10. Pastor Niemoeller's farewell letter to Reverend Frederick J. Forell, chairman of the Emergency Committee for German Protestantism, New York, may also be regarded as his farewell message to the American people. Thanks to Hon. Howard H. Buffett, of Nebraska, in the House of Representatives, this letter was printed in the *Congressional Record, Appendix,* vol. 93, part 11 (Tuesday, April 29, 1947), pp. A2340-A2341.

After expressing his profound gratitude for all the privileges that had been accorded to Mrs. Niemoeller and to himself, he said that in the judgment of his suffering people his trip to America would appear as a failure unless a change could be effected in international policy that would bring about a greater sense of security and a better understanding of democracy. The real danger, he concluded, was that not only the bodies of millions die of starvation, but that their souls become ruined and lost.

This letter is one of the most revealing documents available on general conditions in postwar Germany, especially as these conditions affect religion.

Notes to Chapter 4

The Ideology of the Nazi Regime (Naziology)

1. The Nazis called their regime the Third Reich. The Holy Roman Empire (843-1806) was regarded as the First Reich; Bismarck's creation (1871-1918), the Second Reich. The democratic regime of the Weimar Republic (1918-1932) was passed over as "fourteen years of shame and disgrace." The term Third Reich was introduced by Moeller van den Bruck, who also made early contributions to the ideology of the new Reich. Cf. Gerhard Krebs, "Moeller van den Bruck: Inventor of the 'Third Reich,'" *The American Political Science Review,* vol. 35 (December, 1941), pp. 1085-1105.

2. The term Aryanism is related to Aryas, the name applied to the Sanskrit-speaking people. The "pure-blooded" Germans claimed the Aryans as their parent stock. The term conveyed the idea of the gentility and nobility of a ruling race, from which Jewish and colored elements were severely excluded.

3. Rudolf Kluge and Heinrich Krueger, *Verfassung und Verwaltung im Grossdeutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 3, 17, 98; also cf. Otto Kleinschmidt, *Blut und Rasse* (Berlin, 1933), pp. 5-15.

4. Kluge and Krueger, *op. cit.,* pp. 22-28.

5. According to sources available at the present time, Hitler came to his end in the Reichschancellery, Berlin, when the Red armies encircled the city and poured destruction upon it, April 30, 1945. Thus Hitler's quest for *Lebensraum* (living space) literally led him into *Sterbensraum* (dying space).

Hitler's idea of an epitaph for himself reads as follows: "My only wish is that when I die my flag might cover me and my tombstone bear the inscription: 'A man who never capitulated, never despaired, and never compromised; one who had but one aim and followed the course set before him; one who had a great faith, and that faith was called: Germany.' "—*Nationalsozialistische Bibliographie,* vol. 4 (March-April, 1939), p. 11.

6. The term "Nazi" is an abbreviation of *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party). The letters N.S.D.A.P. are also frequently used.

7. *Reichsgesetzblatt,* 1933, vol. 1, p. 479. (Hereafter cited as *RGBl.*) This was the official publication containing Hitler's laws.

8. *RGBl.,* 1933, vol. 1, p. 1016.

9. *RGBl.,* 1935, vol. 1, p. 502.

10. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1935), p. 526.

11. Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm der N.S.D.A.P.* (München, 1932), pp. 19-23. The German wording of this twenty-five-point program, with a parallel English translation is given in Appendix 1.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 22.

13. *Ibid.,* pp. 23, 26-28, and *passim.*

14. *Völkischer Beobachter,* April 3, 1939. Speech at Wilhelmshaven, April 1, 1939.

15. As a further consideration of points 11-18 a comment in the editorial footnotes of *Mein Kampf* is of interest. It refers to Gottfried Feder's economic policy as expounded in his writing entitled, *Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft* (*Breaking the Slavery of Interest*). Apparently this treatise did not receive the imprimatur of all party leaders. Joseph Goebbels, for illustration, is quoted as having said, *"Brechen muss dabei nur der, der diesen Unsinn lesen muss"* ("Only he is doomed to break who is forced to read this nonsense"). While Feder was never officially repudiated by the party, he was relegated to a minor role after 1933. Cf. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1939), p. 282, et seq.

It will be recalled that the Hitlerian regime gave new emphasis to the idea that the value of money is dependent upon the strength of the government backing it and not altogether on the strength of the generally accepted backing of specie.

16. Kluge and Krueger, *op. cit.,* pp. 1, 2.

17. Hitler, *op. cit.,* p. 613.

18. *RGBl.,* 1936, vol. 1, p. 993.

19. Cf. Leon W. Fuller, "Education in Germany Under the National Socialist Regime," *The Department of State Bulletin,* vol. 11, Nos. 278-280 (Oct. 22, 29, Nov. 5, 1944).

20. Ernst Krieck, *Nationalpolitische Erziehung* (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 16-23.

21. Feder, *op. cit.* p. 22.

22. Various editions of *Mein Kampf* have been consulted, including the German. However, all references here given are based on the Reynal and Hitchcock edition of 1939, which seems quite adequate for purposes of ex-

plaining the ideology of National Socialism. This edition is readily available for further reference.

23. Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 994.

24. Cf. Deuteronomy 28:1, 13.

25. Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 595; cf. pp. 396-410.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 412.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 443, 447.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 668; cf. pp. 764-766.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 478.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 986; cf. pp. 927, 928.

31. As late as May 10, 1941, Rudolf Hess, the deputy leader of the Nazi Party, made an ill-fated airplane trip to Britain, presumably to negotiate for an immediate peace with Germany and a joint crusade against Bolshevism. Ironically, this is precisely what the Western powers sought to achieve after the war's end during the cold war with Russia.

32. Hitler, *op. cit.*, 178-180, 885-967.

33. Apparently Hitler became greatly influenced by General Karl Haushofer who applied the term *Geopolitik* to describe Germany's national policies based upon the geographical need for *Lebensraum*. A careful consideration of geopolitics will throw considerable light upon some of the chief principles of the foreign policy of the Third Reich. Cf. Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 937-940.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 947, 948.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 328-336, 476, 485, 487, 849-851.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 852. The Ministry for Propaganda and Public Enlightenment, established in 1933 under the direction of Joseph Goebbels, was appallingly successful in carrying Hitler's ideas into effect. Essentially, propaganda was made to be a form of psychological warfare. No accurate figures on party membership are available. It appears, however, that by 1937 there were about six million party members out of a total population of some sixty million people.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 365-367, 479, 480, 487, 500 n., 675, 732, 825, 826. It is of interest to note that upon the announcement of Hitler's death a spokesman for the Holy See announced that the Vatican had no plans to mourn his death, "because of his definite character as a persecutor of the church." Cf. Associated Press, May 3, 1945. Oswald Spengler said earlier that for the world's sake the pope should have excommunicated Hitler. Cf. Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 761 n.

38. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1935). All references are based on this edition.

39. Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics* (New York, 1941), p. 228.

40. Alfred Rosenberg, *Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der N.S.D.A.P.* (München, 1933; 1st. ed., 1922).

41. Rosenberg's reference to the ancient lost continent of Atlantis as the center of Nordic creation, and his inference that Christ was of Aryan ancestry are examples of the baffling fertility of the author's mind. Cf. Rosenberg, *Der Mythus*, pp. 24, 76.

42. The introductory and the closing pages of *Der Mythus* are among the most lucid on this point.

43. These summaries are based upon a reading of the original, written in German. Other summaries, in English, may be found in the following works: Paul F. Douglass, *God Among the Germans* (Philadelphia, 1935); Charles S. Macfarland, *The New Church in the New Germany* (New York, 1934); Peter Viereck, *Metapolitics* (New York, 1941).

44. Book 1, "The Conflict of Values," with its various subdivisions, covers pages 19-273.

45. Rosenberg, *Der Mythus,* p. 2.

46. Book 2, "The Nature of Germanic Art," is the shortest of the three books. It covers pages 275-450.

47. It is of interest to note here that of all the political theorists favorably mentioned in *Der Mythus,* Richard Wagner received the largest number of such favorable references, not merely as an artist, but more so as a political theorist. Cf. Viereck, *op. cit.,* p. 225.

48. Arthur de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races* (New York, 1915).

49. Ludwig Schemann, *Gobineau und die deutsche Kultur* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 33. Schemann was a member of the Gobineau school. His treatise is a veritable eulogy of this Germanized Frenchman, who became more German than the Germans themselves.

50. Houston Stewart Chamberlain, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1915). The Nazis thought of Houston Stewart Chamberlain as the man with an English name but a genuine German heart. See Hermann Werdermann, *Martin Luther und Adolf Hitler* (Gnadenfrei i. Schles., 1937), p. 3.

51. Alfred Rosenberg, *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit* (München, 1935), p. 65. This treatise, generally, is an answer to Catholic leaders who had criticized his *Der Mythus.*

52. Hitler, *op. cit.,* p. 287.

53. George Beiswanger, "Richard Wagner: Oracle of National Socialism," *The American Scholar,* vol. 11 (spring, 1942), p. 228.

54. Hitler, *op. cit.,* pp. 23, 359 n.

55. The *Völkischer Beobachter,* January 3, 1933, contains an article in which an attempt is made to relate Richard Wagner's music to the science of race. It is doubtful, however, that Wagner intended that his art should give support to the excesses inherent in Naziology.

56. Cf. Ralph F. Bischoff, *Nazi Conquest Through German Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942); also Horace L. Friess, "The Progress of German Philosophy in the Last Hundred Years," *The Journal of Philosophy,* vol. 27 (July 17, 1930), pp. 396-415.

57. Cf. Edward W. Chadwick, *German Christianity and the Great War* (London, n.d.); also Otto Piper, *Recent Developments in German Protestantism* (London, 1934), pp. 30-34.

58. Rosenberg, *Der Mythus,* p. 2.

59. Macfarland, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

60. The following are among the most thoroughgoing criticisms of Rosenberg's *Der Mythus:* Rudolf Homann (Protestant) *Der Mythus und das*

Evangelium (Witten, 1935); Walter Kuenneth (Protestant) *Antwort auf den Mythus* (Berlin, 1935); Cardinal Faulhaber, *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum* (München, 1933); *Kirchlicher Anzeiger für die Erzdiözese Köln, "Studien zum Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts"* (Köln, 1935).

61. The two following monographs are typical of Rosenberg's incisive answers to his critics: *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit* (München, 1935); *Protestantische Rompilger* (München, 1937).

62. Rosenberg, *Der Mythus,* pp. 5-18.

63. *Ibid.,* pp. 93-101.

64. Rosenberg, *Protestantische Rompilger,* p. 21.

65. Rosenberg, *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit,* p. 101.

66. Faulhaber, *op. cit.,* p. 118. *"Wir dürfen aber niemals vergessen: Wir sind nicht mit deutschem Blut erlöst. Wir sind mit dem kostbaren Blut unseres gekreuzigten Herrn erlöst."*

67. Gottfried Spanuth, *Die Altgermanische Religion und das Christentum* (Göttingen, 1934), pp. 25-32.

68. Feder, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

69. *Reichsflaggengesetz, RGBl.,* 1935, vol. 1, p. 1145.

70. New York *Times,* Jan. 3, 1942. According to this report, the "Thirty-Point National Church Program" was released by Rosenberg.

71. *Völkischer Beobachter,* Jan. 23, 1933.

72. Erich Schinnerer, *German Law and Legislation* (Berlin, 1938), pp. 2-6.

73. *Sondernummer* of the *Völkischer Beobachter,* Jan. 30, 1936. This special number of Hitler's paper was issued on the third anniversary of his assumption of power. It is a revealing document on the aims, policies, and achievements of National Socialism.

74. *Führergesetze.*

75. Kluge and Krueger, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

76 *"Recht ist, was dem deutschen Volke nützt."* Cf. Kluge and Krueger, *op. cit.,* pp. 5, 6.

77. *Geheime Staatspolizei* (secret state police).

78. "Text of Evangelical Church Letter Submitted to Chancellor Hitler in June, 1936," *International Conciliation,* No. 324 (November, 1936). A further discussion of this letter will be found in chapter 7.

79. *RGBl.,* 1935, vol. 1, p. 502.

80. Raymond Murphy, *National Socialism* (Washington, D.C., 1943), p. 199.

81. *RGBl.,* 1933, vol. 1, p. 1016.

82. *RGBl.,* 1934, vol. 1, p. 529; cf. Kluge and Krueger, *op. cit.,* p. 19.

83. *RGBl.,* 1936, vol. 1, p. 993.

84. Kluge and Krueger, *op. cit.,* pp. 91-93.

85. *Völkischer Beobachter,* Nov. 25, 1937.

86. *Das Schwarze Korps,* Dec. 9, 1937.

87. Wilhelm Hoeper, *Die drei Reiche* (Breslau, 1934), pp. 109-117.

Notes to Chapter 5
Fruits of Ancient Paganism in Modern Germany

1. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1935), p. 679; cf. pp. 136, 347, 598.

2. C. G. Jung, "Wotan," *The Saturday Review of Literature,* vol. 16 (Oct. 16, 1937), p. 4.

3. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons* (Boston, 1902), pp. 63, 64; cf. J. Howald, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Konstanz, 1903), pp. 18, 19.

4. Kurt G. W. Ludecke, *I Knew Hitler* (London, 1938), p. 465.

5. F. C. Bray, *The World of Myths* (New York, 1936), p. 21; cf. Saussaye, *op. cit.,* p. 342.

6. Saussaye, *op. cit.,* pp. 224-277, 285, 286.

7. Bray, *op. cit.,* p. 37.

8. Saussaye, *op. cit.,* pp. 305-308. The appearance of the warlike Teutonic women on the battlefield to cheer their men on to victory probably gave origin to the popular belief in Valkyries.

9. A. H. Johnson, *The Normans in Europe* (New York, 1891), p. 9.

10. Saussaye, *op. cit.,* p. 308.

11. Gottfried Spanuth, *Die Altgermanische Religion und das Christentum* (Göttingen, 1934), pp. 46, 47.

12. *Ibid.,* p. 47.

13. Howald, *op. cit.,* pp. 11, 12. Von Schirach, the leader of the Hitler Youth organization and one of the Nuremberg "criminals" who escaped the noose, was named Baldur.

14. Tacitus, *Dialogus, Agricola, Germania* (New York, 1932), p. 277.

15. Saussaye, *op. cit.,* p. 285.

16. The term Edda refers to either of two collections of Icelandic literature. Saemund Sigvusson is credited with having made a collection of upwards of forty mythological and heroic songs early in the twelfth century. This is known as the Elder, or Poetic Edda. Snorri Sturluson, a historian, about a century later, is believed to be responsible for the Younger, or Prose Edda. These Eddas are basic among the sources of ancient Teutonic mythology.

17. L. Weber, *Die religiöse Entwicklung der Menschheit* (Gütersloh, 1901), pp. 190, 191.

18. *Ibid.,* pp. 193-195; cf. Spanuth, *op. cit.,* pp. 25-32. Ulfilas (311?-381), an Arian missionary among the Visigoths, made the Gothic Bible translation, the oldest book extant in a Germanic language. The followers of the Arian creed were subsequently persecuted by those of the Athanasian creed. Cf. Howald, *op. cit.,* pp. 1-4, 25.

19. Cf. E. E. Kellett, *A Short History of Religions* (London, 1933), ch. 5, "Germanic Religion."

20. Howald, *op. cit.,* p. 13.

21. W. N. Lettsom, tr., *The Nibelungenlied* (New York, 1901). Introduction by W. H. Carpenter, p. xxii.

22. The Nibelungen were sons of Nielfheim who ruled in *Nebelreich*

(kingdom of fog, darkness, or death). A graphic résumé of the entire *Nibelungenlied* is given by Howald, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-101.

23. W. N. Lettsom, tr., *The Nibelungenlied* (London, 1903), pp. 417, 418. Giselher and Gernot, brothers of Gunther, knew where the hoard of gold was hidden.

24. Otto D. Tolischus, "Wagner: Clue to Hitler," The New York *Times Magazine*, Feb. 25, 1940, pp. 6, 7.

25. Mario Bendiscioli, *The New Racial Paganism* (London, 1939), p. 15.

26. George Beiswanger, "Richard Wagner: Oracle of National Socialism," *The American Scholar*, vol. 11 (spring, 1942), p. 228.

27. Jacques Barzun, *Darwin, Marx, Wagner* (Boston, 1941), p. 10.

28. Thomas Mann, *Freud, Goethe, Wagner* (New York, 1939), p. 132.

29. F. Wolff, "Hitler and the Ring," *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 163 (March, 1943), pp. 176-180.

30. Friedelind Wagner and Page Cooper, *Heritage of Fire* (New York, 1945), pp. 104-106.

31. Arthur S. Garbett, "Opera, War, and Wagner," *The Etude*, vol. 60 (Oct., 1942), p. 657.

32. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1939), p. 23.

33. Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

34. Quoted in Tolischus, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

35. Paul Henry Lang, "Background Music for 'Mein Kampf,'" *The Saturday Review of Literature*, vol. 28 (Jan. 20, 1945), pp. 5-9.

36. Tacitus, *op. cit.*, pp. 269, 277.

37. Spanuth, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-32; cf. Helmuth Lother, *Neugermanische Religion und Christentum* (Gütersloh, 1934), pp. 70-100.

38. Spanuth, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43; cf. Ernst Bronisch-Holtze, *Der Akademiker zwischen Christentum und deutscher Glaubensbewegung* (Gütersloh, 1934), p. 20.

39. Hitler, *op. cit.*, p. 500; Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm der N.S.D.A.P.* (München, 1932), p. 62.

40. Paul B. Means, *Things That Are Caesar's* (New York, 1935), p. 164.

41. Karl Scheuermann, *Aufruhr wider Gott* (Göttingen, 1935), pp. 8-15; cf. Wolf Meyer-Erlach, *Das neue Deutschland und die christliche Verkündigung* (Weimar, 1934), p. 3.

42. L. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 553.

43. Cf. Wm. Hallock Johnson, "Superman: His Ancestry and Works," *Theology Today*, vol. 1, No. 2 (July, 1944), pp. 173-187.

44. L. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

45. Johannes Schneider, ed., *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die Evangelischen Landeskirchen Deutschlands* (Gütersloh, 1921), p. 339. This tendency to withdraw from church membership was lessened after 1933 when the *Glaubensbewegung deutscher Christen* (faith movement of German Christians) asserted its influence within the *Landeskirchen* (regional churches). In a sense, these German Christians represented the Nazi Party within the church. They were the ones who were Germans first, and to whom real Christianity was secondary.

46. Walter Kuenneth, *Die völkische Religiösität der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 24-30.

47. F. Whiteleaf, "The Ludendorff Movement," *The Contemporary Review,* vol. 153 (March, 1938), pp. 324-330.

48. Means, *op. cit.,* pp. 177-180.

49. Ernst Bergmann, *Die deutsche Nationalkirche* (Breslau, 1934), p. 67.

50. Ernst Bergmann, *Die 25 Thesen der Deutschreligion* (Breslau, 1934).

51. *Ibid.,* p. 88.

52. *Ibid.,* pp. 11, 12; cf. Lother, *op. cit.,* pp. 19-24; and D. Pfennigsdorf, *Die deutsche Glaubensbewegung* (Frankfurt a. M., 1935), pp. 11-14.

53. Graf Ernst Reventlow, *Wo ist Gott?* (Berlin, 1934); cf. Paul. F. Douglass, *God Among the Germans* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 64-67.

54. J. W. Hauer, *"Skizzen aus meinem Leben," Deutscher Glaube,* 1. Heft (Hartung, 1935), pp. 9, 10.

55. Pfennigsdorf, *op. cit.,* pp. 14-17.

56. Hauer, *loc. cit.,* p. 11.

57. Pfennigsdorf, *op. cit.,* p. 3.

58. Hermann H. Krose, ed., *Kirchliches Handbuch für das Katholische Deutschland,* 1937-38 (Köln, 1939), p. 345. This *Handbuch* has an addendum on *Neuheidentum* (neopaganism) in Germany. (Hereafter cited as *Kirchliches Handbuch.*)

59. D. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, ed., *Die Bekenntnisse und grundsätzlichen Aeusserungen zur Kirchenfrage* (Göttingen, 1935), vol. 2, p. 186. (Hereafter cited as *Bekenntnisse.*)

60. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 3, pp. 334, 335.

61. Means, *op. cit.,* p. 241.

62. *Ibid.,* pp. 244, 245.

63. The German Christians' relation to National Socialism and to its influence upon the church will be treated in chapter 7.

64. *Kirchliches Handbuch,* pp. 246, 247.

65. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 2, pp. 189, 190.

66. Paucity of numbers does not necessarily imply paucity of influence. It must ever be remembered that the revolutions of the twentieth century were achieved by well-organized minority groups.

67. *Kirchliches Handbuch,* p. 351.

68. *Bekentnisse,* vol. 3, pp. 65-67.

69. John Brown Mason, *Hitler's First Foes* (Minneapolis, 1936), pp. 1-8.

70. Cardinal Faulhaber, *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum* (München, 1933), pp. 8, 103.

71. *Ibid.,* pp. 20, 116, 117.

72. *Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI* (Vatican Press translation issued by National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., 1937), pp. 6-8.

73. *Zionspilger,* vol. 61, No. 4 (Jan. 26, 1942), p. 45.

Notes to Chapter 6
Catholicism and Nazism

1. Cardinal Faulhaber, *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum* (München, 1933), p. 123.

2. Johann von Leers, *Der Kardinal und die Germanen* (Hamburg, 1934).

3. Alfred Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* was first published in 1930. Shortly thereafter the Fuehrer entrusted the author with the task of supervising the ideological and intellectual training and instruction within the framework of the party.

4. Cf. John Brown Mason, *Hitler's First Foes* (Minneapolis, 1936), pp. 93, 94.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-4, 92-94.

6. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1939), p. 367.

7. Cf. Joseph McCabe, *The Papacy in Politics Today* (London, 1943), p. 39.

8. Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer* (Boston, 1944), p. 632.

9. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 7.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 5; cf. G. Ohlemueller, *Politischer Katholizismus* (Berlin, 1936), p. 30.

11. Waldemar Gurian, *Hitler and the Christians* (London, 1936), p. 126.

12. *RGBl.*, 1933, vol. 1, p. 141.

13. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

14. *Germania*, March 24, 1933; also cf. Norman H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler* (London, 1942), vol. 1, pp. 370-401.

15. G. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat zwischen Deutschland und dem Vatikan* (Berlin, 1937), pp. 13, 14. (Hereafter referred to as *Reichskonkordat.*) This repeal of the German bishops' prohibitions had been anticipated by the *Völkischer Beobachter*, January 1, 1933, when it pointed out that German Catholics had found a *modus vivendi* with Hitlerism in order to promote unity and curb the destructive influences of Marxism.

16. Heiden, *op. cit.*, p. 633.

17. Cf. Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

18. Cf. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18, 95.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

20. Carl Bachem, *Politik und Geschichte der Zentrumspartei* (Köln, 1918), pp. 141, 151.

21. An attempt was made to solve the Roman question in Italy by means of an accord with Mussolini, February 11, 1929. But whether the Roman question is really solved in Italy—or, for that matter, in the entire world—is still an open question.

22. Gordon Boyce Thompson, *The Kulturkampf* (Toronto, 1909), p. 69.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

24. Konrad Hentrich, *Nationalkatholizismus* (Hamburg, 1934), pp. 7, 37.

25. Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 101.

26. Cf. Mary Euphrasine Dormanns, "An Inquiry Into the Attitude of the German Center Party (*Zentrum*) and the Austrian Christian Socialist Party to Austro-German Anschluss" (unpublished master's thesis in the Dominican College Library, San Rafael, California, 1942), pp. 28-31.

27. Bernhard Menne, *The Case of Dr. Bruening* (London [1942]), p. 10.

28. Bachem, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-186.

29. Cf. Ohlemueller, *Politischer Katholizismus*, pp. 31-33.

30. Matthias Erzberger had signed the armistice. Later he was murdered by a nationalist.

31. Menne, *op. cit.*, pp. 78, 79.
32. Mason, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-16.
33. Ohlemueller, *Politischer Katholizismus*, p. 37.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, pp. 15-17.
36. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 36.
37. *Völkischer Beobachter*, July 11, 1933.
38. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, p. 33.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 34.
40. Michael Power, *Religion in the Reich* (London, 1939), p. 25.
41. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1935), pp. 629-636.
42. *RGBl.*, 1933, vol. 2, pp. 679-690. The concordat also appeared in *Kirchliches Handbuch für das Katholische Deutschland*, 1933-34 (Köln), pp. xi-xx.
43. Adolph Keller, *Christian Europe Today*, (New York, 1942), p. 108.
44. Wilfred Parsons, *The Pope and Italy* (New York, 1929), pp. 16-23.
45. *Kirchliches Handbuch*, 1933-34 (Köln, 1935), p. 1.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
47. *Ibid.*, 1937-38, p. 360.
48. René Brunet, *The New German Constitution* (New York, 1922), p. 328.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 222.
50. Heiden, *op. cit.*, p. 634.
51. Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
53. William Teeling, *Pope Pius XI and World Affairs* (New York, 1937), p. 217.
54. *RGBl.*, 1933, vol. 1, pp. 35, 83, 135.
55. Cf. Friedrich Roetter, *Might Is Right* (London, 1939), pp. 130-138.
56. *RGBl.*, 1933, vol. 1, pp. 529-531.
57. A summary of the *Osservatore's* contentions is given by Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
58. A digest of the contentions of the German newspapers is given by Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, pp. 44-48.
59. Ohlemueller, *Politischer Katholizismus*, pp. 45, 46.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
61. Quoted by Nathaniel Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church* (London, 1939), p. 71.
62. Norman H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler* (London, 1942), vol. 1, p. 384.
63. Ohlemueller, *Politischer Katholizismus*, p. 49.
64. Cf. Mildred S. Wertheimer, "Religion in the Third Reich," *Foreign Policy Reports*, vol. 11 (Jan. 29, 1936), p. 303.
65. *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich* (London, 1940), p. 89. (Hereafter referred to as *Persecution.*)
66. *RGBl.*, 1936, vol. 1, p. 993; cf. *Völkischer Beobachter*, Dec. 3, 1936.
67. Baynes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 390, 391.
68. Cf. A. P. Laurie, *The Case for Germany* (Berlin, 1939), pp. 100-103.

69. Baynes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 542.

70. *Persecution*, pp. 86, 87.

71. *Völkischer Beobachter*, Dec. 3, 1936.

72. Several important canons on education are listed by Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, pp. 54, 55.

73. Articles 146 and 147 of the Weimar Constitution. Within recent times similar plans have been tried by various public-school systems in the United States.

74. Article 149 of the Weimar Constitution.

75. Baynes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 65.

76. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 538, 539.

77. Cf. *Persecution*, pp. 82-186. More than one hundred pages are devoted to a documentation of the policies and methods used by the Nazis in their campaign to exclude the church from the work of education.

78. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, pp. 57, 58.

79. *Die Stimmen der Zeit*, February, 1937, quoted in Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, p. 59.

80. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, p. 60.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

82. Quoted from George Seldes, *The Vatican: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (New York, 1934), p. 350.

83. The Concordat Between the Holy See and Italy, article 43.

84. Cf. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, pp. 63, 64.

85. Micklem, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

86. Wertheimer, *loc. cit.*

87. "Text of Evangelical Church Letter Submitted to Chancellor Hitler in June, 1936," *International Conciliation*, No. 324 (November, 1936), pp. 556-567.

88. Walter Kuenneth, *"Kirche und Religionspolitik," Wort und Tat*, 5. Heft (May, 1937), pp. 125-134.

89. Cf. Micklem, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 122.

90. McCabe, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42.

91. *Persecution*, pp. 298-325.

92. Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

93. Wertheimer, *loc. cit.*

94. Ohlemueller, *Reichskonkordat*, pp. 98-100.

95. Teeling, *op. cit.*, p. 222; cf. *Völkischer Beobachter*, March 22, 1937.

96. *Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI.* (Vatican Press translation issued by National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, D. C., 1937.)

97. Cf. Micklem, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

98. Baynes, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 389, 390.

99. *Völkischer Beobachter*, Oct. 11, 1937.

100. *Ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1937.

102. Cf. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, ed., *The Struggle of the Dutch Church* (New York, 1945).

103. Cf. Associated Press, July 31, 1949.

104. *Newsweek,* March 21, 1949.
105. *Newsweek,* July 25, 1949.
106. Cf. Associated Press, Oct. 25, 1949.
107. *Ibid.,* Dec. 23, 1949.

Notes to Chapter 7

Protestantism and Nazism

1. D. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, ed., *Die Bekenntnisse und grundsätzlichen Aeusserungen zur Kirchenfrage* (Göttingen, 1934-37), vols. 1-4, for the years 1933-36. (Hereafter referred to as *Bekenntnisse.*)

2. *International Conciliation,* No. 324 (November, 1936), pp. 556-567. Although the pope's encyclical, *Mit brennender Sorge,* issued nine months later, was not directed to Hitler personally, yet in spirit and content it had much in common with this Evangelical Church letter.

3. Michael Power, *Religion in the Reich* (London, 1939), p. 113.

4. Church of England, Council on Foreign Relations, *Fourth Survey on the Affairs of the Continental Churches* (Westminster, 1937), pp. 22, 23. There are four of these surveys. They will be cited as *Survey,* First; *Survey,* Second, etc.

5. Arthur Frey, *Der Kampf der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland* (Zollikon, 1937), pp. 171, 172.

6. Alfred Rosenberg, *Protestantische Rompilger* (München, 1937), p. 80.

7. Nathaniel Micklem, *National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church* (London, 1939), p. 181.

8. "Council on World Order," *Newsweek,* vol. 23, No. 78 (March 21, 1949), p. 78.

9. Cf. Felix Gilbert, "Political Thought of the Renaissance and Reformation," *The Huntington Library Quarterly,* vol. 4 (July, 1941), pp. 443 *et seq.*

10. Paul Douglass, *God Among the Germans* (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 281.

11. Otto Ernst Rohn, *Lutherische und reformierte Kirchenverfassung im Deutschland der Nachkriegszeit* (Ochsenfurt am Main, 1933), p. 17.

12. Rohn, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

13. Rudolf Grob, *Der Kirchenkampf in Deutschland* (Zürich, 1937), p. 45 *et seq.;* cf. Karl Barth, *Theologische Existenz heute* (München, 1935).

14. Paul Banwell Means, *Things That Are Caesar's* (New York, 1935), pp. 4, 94.

15. Stewart W. Herman, Jr., *It's Your Souls We Want* (New York, 1943), p. 107.

16. Johannes Schneider, ed., *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die Evangelischen Landeskirchen Deutschlands* (Gütersloh). After faithfully chronicling the fortunes of German Protestantism for fifty-nine years, this yearbook ceased to be published in complete form after 1932. The editions for 1933 and 1934 were mere "torsos." But even such incomplete forms ceased to appear regularly. The crisis in Protestantism became too baffling to the serious statistician. (Hereafter cited as Schneider's *Jahrbuch.*)

17. The introduction to article 137. Sections 3, 4 including articles 135-150, deal specifically with the regulation of religion, religious societies, and schools.

18. Rohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-100.

19. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1920,* pp. 278-294.

20. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1921,* pp. 304 *et seq.*

21. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1920,* pp. 1-30.

22. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1921,* p. 339.

23. Means, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

24. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1922* gives both laws, pp. 13-16.

25. Waldemar Gurian, *Hitler and the Christians* (London, 1936), pp. 71, 73; c.f. Friedrich Wieneke, *Die Glaubensbewegung, "Deutsche Christen"* (Soldin, 1933), p. 12.

26. Karl Immer, *Bekennende Gemeinde im Kampf* (Wuppertal-Barmen, 1934), p. 51.

27. Frey, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-115. The extreme section of the German Christians became embodied in the national church movement of the Thuringian Christians, whose views did not differ essentially from those of Rosenberg.

28. W. Grundmann, *Die 28 Thesen der Deutschen Christen* (Dresden, n.d.), p. 64.

29. Emmanuel Hirsch, *Das kirchliche Wollen der deutschen Christen* (Berlin-Steglitz, 1933), pp. 5-20.

30. Cf. Joachim Hossenfelder, *Unser Kampf* (Berlin, 1933).

31. Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

32. Grob, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 25.

34. *RGBl.*, 1933, vol. 1, pp. 471-475.

35. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1922,* pp. 510-513, contains the constitution of the church federation of 1922.

36. Grob, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Friedrich Koch, *Die Deutsche Evangelische Kirche and ihre Verfassung* (Berlin, 1933), p. 47.

39. *Survey,* First, p. 8.

40. Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

41. *RGBl.*, 1933, vol. 1, p. 175.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 433.

43. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 1, pp. 174-182.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 182-186.

45. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1934,* p. 104.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

47. *Ibid.*

48. 2 Thessalonians 2:11.

49. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 1, pp. 168, 169.

50. *Survey,* First, p. 11.

51. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 2, pp. 25-27.

52. *Germania,* March 24, 1933.

53. Gurian, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

54. Friedrich Roetter, *Might Is Right* (London, 1939), p. 367.

55. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 2, p. 128.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-134.

57. Grob, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

58. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 2, pp. 163-168.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-170.

60. *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 176.

61. *Survey*, First, p. 15.

62. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 2, pp. 62, 63.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-98.

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-95.

65. *Survey*, Second, p. 17.

66. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 2, pp. 157-162.

67. *Survey*, Second, p. 22.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

69. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 3, p. 130.

70. *RGBl.*, 1935, vol. 1, p. 774.

71. *Survey*, Third, pp. 15-19.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

73. Julius Rieger, *The Silent Church* (London, 1944), p. 38.

74. Karl Barth, ed., *Theologische Existenz heute* (München, 1935), p. 23.

75. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 2, pp. 102-105.

76. Rudolf Kluge and Heinrich Krueger, *Verfassung und Verwaltung im Grossdeutschen Reich* (Berlin, 1939), p. 143.

77. *RGBl.*, 1935, vol. 1, p. 774.

78. Anders Nygren, *The Church Controversy in Germany* (London, 1934), pp. 109-112.

79. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 3, pp. 163-169.

80. Roetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 378, 379.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

82. *RGBl.*, 1935, vol. 1, p. 1029.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 1060.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 1178.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 1221.

86. Second to fourth and sixth to eleventh executive decrees to the law for safeguarding the German Evangelical Church. *RGBl.*, 1935, vol. 1, pp. 1283, 1350, 1369; *RGBl.*, 1936, vol. 1, pp. 15, 129, 130, 176, 440.

87. *Bekenntnisse*, vol. 3, p. 273 *et seq. Survey*, Third, pp. 4, 5.

88. Mildred S. Wertheimer, "Religion in the Third Reich," *Foreign Policy Reports*, vol. 11 (Jan. 29, 1936), p. 301.

89. Hans Pfundtner and Reinhard Neubert, eds., *Das neue deutsche Reichsrecht* (Berlin, n.d.), vol. 1 d, pp. 4, 34-50. The decrees of the Reich church committee were originally published in the *Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche* (official gazette of the German Evangelical Church).

90. *RGBl.*, 1936, vol. 1, p. 884.

91. Roetter, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-386.

92. *Survey*, Third, pp. 6, 7.

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

94. *RGBl.*, 1935, vol. 1, p. 1370.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 1522.

96. *Survey,* Third, pp. 8-10.

97. Power, *op. cit.,* pp. 136-138.

98. *Survey,* Third, p. 20.

99. *RGBl.,* 1936, vol. 1, p. 993.

100. *Survey,* Fourth, pp. 32-35.

101. *Ibid.,* pp. 36-39.

102. *RGBl.,* 1937, vol. 1, p. 203.

103. *Survey,* Fourth, p. 29.

104. Otto Dibelius und Martin Niemoeller, *Wir rufen Deutschland zu Gott* (Berlin, 1937).

105. *RGBl.,* 1937, vol. 1, p. 698.

106. *Ibid.,* pp. 333, 334.

107. *Ibid.,* p. 1346.

108. *Ibid.,* p. 651.

109. *Ibid.,* p. 697.

110. An informing discussion on the finances of the German Protestant church is given by Roger H. Wells, "The Financial Relations of Church and State in Germany, 1919-1937," *Political Science Quarterly,* vol. 53 (March, 1938), pp. 36-59.

111. Roetter, *op. cit.,* p. 392.

112. *Völkischer Beobachter,* Nov. 25, 1937.

113. Werner Hoche, ed., *Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler,* Heft 22, p. 676.

114. Paragraph 130A of the Reich Criminal Code, which originated as the *Kanzel* paragraph during Bismarck's Kulturkampf.

115. "German Martyrs," *Time,* vol. 36, No. 26 (Dec. 23, 1940), pp. 38-41.

116. Cf. Emil Brunner, *Der Staat als Problem der Kirche* (Bern und Leipzig, n.d.).

117. Report on the visit of the World Council delegation to Germany, October, 1945, *Not Strangers but Brethren* (New York, 1945), pp. 8, 9.

118. Luke 17:10.

119. Cf. *The Christian Century,* vol. 66, No. 48 (Nov. 30, 1949), p. 1411.

Notes to Chapter 8
Judaism and Nazism

1. Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm der N.S.D.A.P.* (München, 1932), p. 30.

2. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1939), p. 84.

3. Cf. Exodus 3:6.

4. Cf. Genesis, chapters 12-15.

5. Esther 3:8.

6. Exodus 3:1-6.

7. Cf. Exodus, chapters 1-15.

8. Lamentations 1:1.

9. Joshua Trachtenberg, *The Devil and the Jews* (New Haven, 1943), p. 12.

10. Julius Streicher was editor of *Der Stürmer,* a Nazi weekly begun in 1932. It was rabidly anti-Semitic. Streicher was one of the ten "criminals" hanged at Nuremberg, October, 1946.

11. Cf. Trachtenberg, *op. cit.* The entire work is based upon the maltreatment of Jews during medieval times.

12. Ernst Frankenstein, *Justice for My People* (New York, 1944), pp. 6, 7.

13. Matthew 27:25. For the tragic sequel to these fateful words, cf. Ellen G. White, *The Great Controversy* (Mountain View, California, 1911), chapter 1.

14. Mildred S. Wertheimer, "Forces Underlying the Nazi Revolution," *Foreign Policy Reports,* vol. 9 (July 19, 1933), p. 113.

15. Marvin Lowenthal, *The Jews of Germany* (New York, 1936), pp. 305, 306. Portions of the petition are here quoted.

16. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (München, 1935).

17. Cf. Franz Rose, *So Verriet Juda Deutschland* (Erfurt, 1936). The entire brochure is a scathing indictment of alleged Jewish disloyalty to Germany.

18. Mildred S. Wertheimer, "The Jews in the Third Reich," *Foreign Policy Reports,* vol. 9 (Oct. 11, 1933), p. 177.

19. Cf. George N. Shuster, *Strong Man Rules* (New York, 1934), pp. 127-140.

20. American Jewish Congress, *Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews* (New York, 1943), p. 7.

21. Cf. Tibor Erdély, *Judas Unmoral* (Erfurt, 1936). For a sarcastic and penetrating confession of real and far-reaching Jewish "guilt," consult Marcus Eli Ravage, "A Real Case Against the Jews," *The Century Magazine,* vol. 115 (January, 1928), pp. 346-350.

22. Charles S. Macfarland, *The New Church in the New Germany* (New York, 1934), pp. 63, 64. Cf. Paul Banwell Means, *Things That Are Caesar's* (New York, 1935), p. 196.

23. Norman H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler* (London, 1942), vol. 1, p. 59.

24. The twenty-five points of the National Socialist program may be found in Appendix 1. A point-by-point analysis is given in chapter 4.

25. Cf. *Nationalsozialistische Partei-Korrespondenz, Judas Schuldkonto in Deutschland* (Berlin, n.d.).

26. Johann von Leers, *Juden sehen Dich an* (Berlin, 1933), p. 95.

27. *Der Angriff,* March 6, 1933.

28. Cf. *Die Greuelpropaganda ist eine Lügenpropaganda* (Berlin, 1933).

29. Mildred S. Wertheimer, "The Jews in the Third Reich," *Foreign Policy Reports,* vol. 9 (Oct. 11, 1933), p. 176.

30. *RGBl.,* 1933, vol. 1, p. 175.

31. *Ibid.,* pp. 195, 233, 245, 433, 575.

32. James G. McDonald, "Annex to Letter of Resignation," *The Christian Century,* vol. 53 (Jan. 15, 1936), p. 106.

33. *RGBl.,* 1933, vol. 1, pp. 685-692; cf. New York *Times,* Dec. 30, 1935.

34. *Ibid.,* p. 678; cf. McDonald, *op. cit.,* p. 107.

35. *Ibid.,* pp. 188, 222, 225, 226, 685; cf. Thomas Mann, "I Accuse the Hitler Regime," *The Nation,* vol. 164 (March 6, 1937), pp. 259-261.

36. *Hitler's Ten-Year War on the Jews,* p. 12.

37. *Berliner Tageblatt,* July 1, 1935.

38. *RGBl.,* 1935, vol. 1, pp. 1146, 1147, 1333; cf. J. W. Garner, "Recent German Nationality Legislation," *The American Journal of International Law,* vol. 30 (January, 1936), pp. 96-99.

39. *RGBl.,* 1933, vol. 1, pp. 360-363.

40. New York *Times,* Dec. 30, 1935.

41. *RGBl.,* 1938, vol. 1, pp. 414, 415.

42. *Ibid.,* pp. 1579-1581.

43. *Ibid.,* p. 338.

44. Hitler, *op. cit.,* pp. 421-423.

45. "The Jewish Religion in Axis Europe," *Jewish Affairs,* vol. 1 (June-August, 1942), pp. 4, 5.

46. *Ibid.,* pp. 6, 7, 22.

47. *RGBl.,* 1933, vol. 1, p. 203.

48. Rosenberg, *op. cit.,* p. 603.

49. Cf. "The Jewish Religion in Axis Europe," *Jewish Affairs,* vol. 1 (June-August, 1942), p. 11.

50. Karl Barth, *Die Kirche und die politische Frage von heute* (Zollikon, 1939), p. 32.

51. D. Kurt Dietrich Schmidt, ed., *Bekenntnisse, 1933,* vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1934), pp. 168, 169.

52. *Ibid.,* pp. 178-182; cf. Paul F. Douglass, *God Among the Germans* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 131-137.

53. *Germania,* March 6, 1934.

54. J. A. Kofler, *Katholische Kirche und Judentum* (München, 1931), p. 17.

55. Cf. Acts 7:51; 1 Thessalonians 2:15.

56. Johannes Schneider, ed., *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die Evangelischen Landeskirchen Deutschlands, 1920* (Gütersloh, 1921), p. 245.

57. *Bekenntnisse,* vol. 1, pp. 182-186.

58. Schneider's *Jahrbuch für 1920,* pp. 130, 137.

59. 2 Corinthians 5:21.

60. John 4:22.

61. Matthew 11:28, 29.

62. Cf. Daniel 2.

Notes to Chapter 9
Conclusion

1. Psalm 127:1.

2. Paul Meier-Benneckenstein, ed., *Dokumente der deutschen Politik* (Berlin, 1940), vol. 7, pp. 479-482.

3. Cf. Matthew 22:21.

4. Cf. J. W. Garner, "Recent German Nationality Legislation," *The American Journal of International Law,* vol. 30 (January, 1936), pp. 96-99.

5. Cajus Fabricius, *Positive Christianity in the Third Reich* (Dresden, 1937), pp. 22, 24, 25, 45, 46.

6. Cf. Alfons Wild, *Hitler und das Christentum* (Augsburg, 1935).

7. Cf. Ingbert Noah, *Ist Hitler ein Christ?* (München, 1934).

8. *Völkischer Beobachter,* Nov. 25, 1937; cf. A. S. Duncan-Jones, *The Struggle for Religious Freedom in Germany* (London, 1938), pp. 256-258.

9. John 10:16.

10. Cf. 2 Peter 3:10-14.

11. Cf. Genesis 11:1-9.

12. Cf. Acts 17:26.

13. Cf. Daniel 3.

14. Luke 19:10.

15. Helmuth Thielicke, "Religion in Germany," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* vol. 260 (November, 1948), pp. 144-154.

16. Revelation 11:18.

17. Revelation 21:27.

18. 2 Peter 3:13.

19. Galatians 6:15; 2 Corinthians 5:17.

20. Isaiah 9:6, 7, Goodspeed—An American Translation.

APPENDIX I

The Twenty-Five-Point Program of the National Socialist Party[1]

(German Text)

Programm der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei.

Das Programm der Deutschen Arbeiterpartei ist ein Zeit-Programm. Die Führer lehnen es ab, nach Erreichung der im Programm aufgestellten Ziele neue aufzustellen, nur zu dem Zweck, um durch künstlich gesteigerte Unzufriedenheit der Massen das Fortbestehen der Partei zu ermöglichen.

1. Wir fordern den Zusammenschluss aller Deutschen auf Grund des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker zu einem Gross-Deutschland.

2. Wir fordern die Gleichberechtigung des deutschen Volkes gegenüber den anderen Nationen, Aufhebung der Friedensverträge von Versailles und St. Germain.

3. Wir fordern Land und Boden (Kolonien) zur Ernährung unseres Volkes und Ansiedlung unseres Bevölkerungs-Ueberschusses.

4. Staatsbürger kann nur sein, wer Volksgenosse ist. Volksgenosse kann nur sein, wer deutschen Blutes ist, ohne Rücksichtnahme auf Konfession. Kein Jude kann daher Volksgenosse sein.

5. Wer nicht Staatsbürger ist, soll nur als Gast in Deutschland leben können und muss unter Fremdengesetzgebung stehen.

6. Das Recht, über Führung und Gesetze des Staates zu bestimmen, darf nur dem Staatsbürger zustehen. Daher fordern wir, dass jedes öffentliche Amt, gleichgültig welcher Art, gleich ob im Reich, Land oder Gemeinde, nur durch Staatsbürger bekleidet werden darf.

Wir bekämpfen die korrumpierende Parlamentswirtschaft einer Stellenbesetzung nur nach Parteigesichtspunkten ohne Rücksichten auf Charakter und Fähigkeiten.

7. Wir fordern, dass sich der Staat verpflichtet, in erster Linie für die Erwerbs- und Lebensmöglichkeit der Staatsbürger zu sorgen. Wenn es nicht möglich ist, die Gesamtbevölkerung des Staates zu ernähren, so sind die Angehörigen fremder Nationen (Nicht-Staatsbürger) aus dem Reiche auszuweisen.

8. Jede weitere Einwanderung Nicht-Deutscher ist zu verhindern. Wir fordern, dass alle Nicht-Deutschen, die seit 2. August 1914 in Deutschland eingewandert sind, sofort zum Verlassen des Reiches gezwungen werden.

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[1] Gottfried Feder, *Das Programm der N.S.D.A.P.* (München, 1934), pp. 15-18.

9. Alle Staatsbürger müssen gleiche Rechte und Pflichten besitzen.

10. Erste Pflicht jedes Staatsbürgers muss sein, geistig oder körperlich zu schaffen. Die Tätigkeit des Einzelnen darf nicht gegen die Interessen der Allgemeinheit verstossen, sondern muss im Rahmen des Gesamten und zum Nutzen Aller erfolgen.

Daher fordern wir:

11. Abschaffung des arbeits- und mühelosen Einkommens.

Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft

12. Im Hinblick auf die ungeheuren Opfer an Gut und Blut, die jeder Krieg vom Volke fordert, muss die persönliche Bereicherung durch den Krieg als Verbrechen am Volke bezeichnet werden. Wir fordern daher restlose Einziehung aller Kriegsgewinne.

13. Wir fordern die Verstaatlichung aller (bisher) bereits vergesellschafteten (Trusts) Betriebe.

14. Wir fordern Gewinnbeteiligung an Grossbetrieben.

15. Wir fordern einen grosszügigen Ausbau der Alters-Versorgung.

16. Wir fordern die Schaffung eines gesunden Mittelstandes und seine Erhaltung, sofortige Kommunalisierung der Gross-Warenhäuser und ihre Vermietung zu billigen Preisen an kleine Gewerbetreibende, schärfste Berücksichtigung aller kleinen Gewerbetreibenden bei Lieferung an den Staat, die Länder oder Gemeinden.

17. Wir fordern eine unseren nationalen Bedürfnissen angepasste Bodenreform, Schaffung eines Gesetzes zur unentgeltlichen Enteignung von Boden für gemeinnützige Zwecke. Abschaffung des Bodenzinses und Verhinderung jeder Bodenspekulation.

Erklärung: Gegenüber den verlogenen Auslegungen des Punktes 17 des Programms der N.S.D.A.P. von seiten unserer Gegner ist folgende Feststellung notwendig.

Da die N.S.D.A.P. auf dem Boden des Privateigentums steht, ergibt sich von selbst, dass der Passus "Unentgeltliche Enteignung" nur auf die Schaffung gesetzlicher Möglichkeiten Bezug hat, Boden, der auf unrechtmässige Weise erworben wurde oder nicht nach den Gesichtspunkten des Volkswohls verwaltet wird, wenn nötig, zu enteignen. Dies richtet sich demgemäss in erster Linie gegen die jüdischen Grundstükspekulationsgesellschaften.

München, den 13. April 1928.

gez. ADOLF HITLER.

18. Wir fordern den rücksichtslosen Kampf gegen diejenigen, die durch ihre Tätigkeit das Gemeininteresse schädigen. Gemeine Volksverbrecher, Wucherer, Schieber usw. sind mit dem Tode zu bestrafen, ohne Rücksichtnahme auf Konfession und Rasse.

19. Wir fordern Ersatz für das der materialistischen Weltordnung dienende römische Recht durch ein deutsches Gemeinrecht.

20. Um jeden fähigen und fleissigen Deutschen das Erreichen höherer Bildung und damit das Einrücken in führende Stellung zu ermöglichen, hat der Staat für einen Gründlichen Ausbau unseres gesamten Volksbildungswesens Sorge zu tragen. Die Lehrpläne aller Bildungsanstalten sind den Erfordernissen des praktischen Lebens anzupassen. Das Erfassen des Staatsgedankens muss bereits mit dem Beginn des Verständnisses durch die Schule (Staatsbürgerkunde) erzielt werden. Wir fordern die Ausbildung besonders veranlagter Kinder armer Eltern ohne Rücksicht auf deren Stand oder Beruf auf Staatskosten.

21. Der Staat hat für die Hebung der Volksgesundheit zu sorgen, durch den Schutz der Mutter und des Kindes, durch Verbot der Jugendarbeit, durch Herbeiführung der körperlichen Ertüchtigung mittels gesetzlicher Festlegung einer Turn- und Sportpflicht, durch grösste Unterstützung aller sich mit körperlicher Jugend-Ausbildung beschäftigenden Vereine.

22. Wir fordern die Abschaffung der Söldnertruppe und die Bildung eines Volksheeres.

23. Wir fordern den gesetzlichen Kampf gegen die bewusste politische Lüge und ihre Verbreitung durch die Presse. Um die Schaffung einer deutschen Presse zu ermöglichen, fordern wir, dass:

(*a*) sämtliche Schriftleiter und Mitarbeiter von Zeitungen, die in deutscher Sprache erscheinen, Volksgenossen sein müssen,

(*b*) nichtdeutsche Zeitungen zu ihrem Erscheinen der ausdrücklichen Genehmigung des Staates bedürfen. Sie dürfen nicht in deutscher Sprache gedruckt werden,

(*c*) jede finanzielle Beteiligung an deutschen Zeitungen oder deren Beeinflussung durch Nicht-Deutsche gesetzlich verboten wird und fordern als Strafe für Uebertretungen die Schliessung eines solchen Zeitungsbetriebes sowie die sofortige Ausweisung der daran beteiligten Nicht-Deutschen aus dem Reich.

Zeitungen, die gegen das Gemeinwohl verstossen, sind zu verbieten. Wir fordern den gesetzlichen Kampf gegen eine Kunst- und Literatur-Richtung, die einen zersetzenden Einfluss auf unser Volksleben ausübt und die Schliessung von Veranstaltungen, die gegen vorstehende Forderungen verstossen.

24. Wir fordern die Freiheit aller religiösen Bekenntnisse im Staat, soweit sie nicht dessen Bestand gefährden oder gegen das Sittlichkeits- und Moralgefühl der germanischen Rasse verstossen.

Die Partei als solche vertritt den Standpunkt eines positiven Christentums, ohne sich konfessionell an ein bestimmtes Bekenntnis zu

binden. Sie bekämpft den jüdisch-materialistischen Geist in und ausser uns und ist überzeugt, dass eine dauernde Genesung unseres Volkes nur erfolgen kann von innen heraus auf der Grundlage:

Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz.

25. Zur Durchführung alles dessen fordern wir Die Schaffung einer starken Zentralgewalt des Reiches. Unbedingte Autorität des politischen Zentralparlaments über das gesamte Reich und seine Organisation im allgemeinen.

Die Bildung von Stände- und Berufskammern zur Durchführung der vom Reich erlassenen Rahmengesetze in den einzelnen Bundesstaaten.

Die Führer der Partei versprechen, wenn nötig, unter Einsatz des eigenen Lebens für die Durchführung der vorstehenden Punkte rücksichtslos einzutreten.

München, den 24. Februar 1920.

In vollster Ueberlegung hat die Generalmitglieder Versammlung am 22. Mai 1926 beschlossen: "Dieses Programm ist unabänderlich."

The Twenty-Five-Point Program of the National Socialist Party

(English Translation)

The Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party.

The program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party is a program for the times. The leaders have no intention, once the aims announced in it have been achieved, of setting up new ones, merely in order to ensure the continued existence of the party through artificially stimulated discontent of the masses.

1. We demand the union of all Germans to form a Great Germany on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations.

2. We demand the equality of Germany with other nations, and the abolition of the peace treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.

3. We demand land and territory (colonies) for the sustenance of our people and for settling our surplus population.

4. None but members of the nationality may be citizens of the state. None but those of German blood, irrespective of religion, may be members of the nationality. No Jew, therefore, can be a member of the nationality.

5. Anyone who is not a citizen of the state may live in Germany only as a guest and must be subject to the law for aliens.

6. The right to determine the leadership and laws of the state is to

be enjoyed only by citizens of the state. We demand, therefore, that all public offices, of whatever kind, whether in the Reich, in the states, or in the municipalities, shall be filled only by citizens of the state.

We oppose the corrupt parliamentary system of filling posts merely with a view to party considerations and without reference to character or ability.

7. We demand that the state shall make it its first duty to promote the industry and the livelihood of the citizens of the state. If it is not possible to maintain the entire population of the state, then the members of foreign nations (noncitizens) must be expelled from the Reich.

8. All further immigration of non-Germans must be prevented. We demand that all non-Germans who entered Germany subsequently to August 2, 1914, shall be forced to leave the Reich forthwith.

9. All citizens shall enjoy equal rights and duties.

10. The primary duty of every citizen is to work either intellectually or physically. The activities of the individual must not clash with the interests of the community but must be realized within the frame of the whole and to the advantage of all.

We therefore demand:

11. Abolition of incomes unearned by either work or effort.

Breaking of the Bonds of Interest Slavery

12. In view of the enormous sacrifices of property and life demanded of a people in every war, personal enrichment through war must be regarded as a crime against the nation. We demand, therefore, ruthless confiscation of all war profits.

13. We demand nationalization of all trusts.

14. We demand profit sharing in large concerns.

15. We demand the extensive development of old-age pensions.

16. We demand the creation and maintenance of a healthy middle class, immediate communalization of department stores, and their lease at cheap rates to small merchants and strictest consideration for all small merchants in purchases by the federal government, states, and municipalities.

17. We demand land reform adapted to our national needs, the enactment of a law for confiscation without compensation of land for public purposes; abolition of land interest and prevention of all speculation in land.

NOTE: The following statement is necessary to clear up the false interpretations given by our opponents to point 17 of the program of the N.S.D.A.P.

In view of the fact that the N.S.D.A.P. holds to the view of private property, it is self-evident that the phrase "confiscation without compensation" refers only to the creation of legal means whereby land which was acquired in illegal ways or which is not being administered to the best interests of the nation's welfare might be expropriated if necessary. This is directed primarily against Jewish land-speculation companies.

Munich, April 13, 1928.

Signed: Adolf Hitler.

18. We demand a most ruthless struggle against those whose activities are injurious to the public interest. Base crimes against the nation, usurers, profiteers, etc., irrespective of creed or race, must be punished with death.

19. We demand the substitution of a German common law for the materialistic cosmopolitan Roman law.

20. In order to make it possible for every talented and diligent German to acquire a higher education and thus be able to occupy leading positions, the state must carry out a thorough reconstruction of our entire educational system. The curricula for all educational institutions must be adapted to the needs of practical life. The comprehension of political ideas, from the beginning of a child's understanding, must be the goal of the school (through civic education). We demand the education of intellectually gifted children of poor parents without regard to class or occupation, and at the expense of the state.

21. The state must take care of improvement in public health through protection of mothers and children, through prohibiting child labor, through increasing physical development by obligatory gymnastics and sports laid down by law, and by the extensive support of all organizations concerned with the physical development of young people.

22. We demand the abolition of mercenary troops and the formation of a national army.

23. We demand a legal battle against deliberate political lies and their dissemination by the press. In order to make possible the creation of a German press we demand:

(*a*) All editors and contributors of newspapers appearing in the German language must be members of the German nationality.

(*b*) Non-German newspapers must require express permission of the state before they appear. They must not be printed in the German language.

(*c*) Non-Germans must be forbidden by law to participate financially in German newspapers or to influence them. As punishment for violation of this law we demand that such a newspaper be immediately suppressed and the non-German participating in it be immediately expelled from the country.

Newspapers which give offense to the national welfare must be suppressed. We demand legal battle against any tendency in art and literature which exercises a disintegrating influence on our national life. Institutions which violate the above-mentioned demands must be shut down.

24. We demand liberty for all religious confessions in the state, in so far as they do not in any way endanger its existence or do not offend the moral sentiment and the customs of the German race.

The party as such represents the standpoint of positive Christianity without binding itself confessionally to a particular faith. It opposes the Jewish materialistic spirit within and without and is convinced that permanent recovery of our people is possible only from within and on the basis of the principle of:

General welfare before individual welfare.

25. In order to carry out all these demands we call for the creation of a strong central authority in the Reich with unconditional authority by the political central parliament over the entire Reich and all its organizations.

The formation of chambers of classes and occupations to carry out the laws promulgated by the Reich in the various individual states of the federation.

The leaders of the party promise that they will fight for the realization of the above-mentioned points and if necessary even sacrifice their lives.

Munich, February 24, 1920.

Upon mature consideration the assembly of the leading membership, on May 22, 1926, resolved as follows: "This program is unchangeable."

APPENDIX II

An Index to Important Religious Legislation Passed in Germany Between 1933 and 1948

1933	
April 7.	Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service (Aryan paragraph) (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 175).[1]
April 21.	Anti-Shehitah Law, Prohibiting the Slaying of Animals According to Jewish Ritual (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 203).
July 14.	Law Regulating the Constitution of the German Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 471).[2]
July 14.	The Constitution of the German Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, pp. 472-478).[2]
July 15.	First Executive Decree Regarding the Law on the Constitution of the German Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 490).
July 20.	Concordat Between the Holy See and the German Reich (*RGBl.,* vol. 2, pp. 679-690).
Sept. 5.	Adoption of the Aryan paragraph by the Prussian Synod (*Christliche Welt,* p. 27).
Sept. 12.	Law on the Execution of the Reichskonkordat (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 625).
Sept. 12.	Announcement Regarding the Concordat Between the German Reich and the Holy See (*RGBl.,* vol. 2, p. 679).
1934	
Feb. 27.	Law Regarding Church Festivals (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 129).[3]
March 16.	Decree Regarding the Protection of Sundays and Church Festivals (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 199).[3]
May 18.	Decree for the Execution of the Law Relating to Church Festivals (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 394).[3]
Aug. 9.	The Second National Synod's Prescription of the Oath of Loyalty to the Fuehrer (*Bekenntnisse,* 1934, vol. 2, p. 128).

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[1] The so-called Aryan paragraph of this law stipulated that officials not of Aryan descent were to be retired. Its application to the church was encouraged by the German Christians and bitterly contested by the Confessional group.

[2] The 1933 constitution superseded the provisions of the 1922 *Kirchenbund.*

[3] According to these measures (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, pp. 129, 199, 394) all publicly conspicuous labor on Sundays was prohibited, and church festivals of both Catholics and Protestants were guaranteed police protection.

1935

March 11.	Prussian Law on the Administration of the Finances of the Evangelical State Churches (*Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler,* vol. 12, p. 702).
June 26.	Law on the Final Adjudication of Legal Matters Affecting the Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 774).[4]
July 3.	First Executive Decree Regarding the Law on the Settlement of Legal Matters Affecting the Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 851).
July 16.	Edict on the Comprehensive Regrouping of All Competencies of the Reich and of Prussia in Church Affairs (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 1029).[5]
July 27.	Second Executive Decree Regarding the Law on the Settlement of Legal Matters Affecting the Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 1060).
Sept. 24.	Law for the Safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 1178).[6]
Oct. 3.	First Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 1221).[7]
Oct. 26.	Decree of the Reich Church Committee Regarding the Use of Church Buildings (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche,* p. 1B).[8]
Nov. 5.	Second Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 1283).
Nov. 21.	Third Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.,* vol. 1, p. 1350).
Nov. 29.	Fourth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.* vol. 1, p. 1369).
Dec. 2.	Fifth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.* vol. 1, p. 1370).[9]

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4. This law provided for a special tribunal (*Beschlussstelle*) to act definitively in matters of church litigation.
5. By this edict Hans Kerrl was made Reich minister of church affairs.
6. This law empowered the Reich minister of church affairs to issue decrees with binding legal force. Hereafter, it will be referred to as "the Law of September 24, 1935."
7. This decree provided for the appointment, by Kerrl, of a Reich church committee, which, in collaboration with state church committees, was to bring order into the German Evangelical Church.
8. The Reich Church Committee (*Reichskirchenausschuss*) appointed by Kerrl, October 3, 1935, was authorized to issue decrees concerning the internal affairs of the church: These were published in the *Law Journal of the German Evangelical Church* (*Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche*).
9. This decree forbade executive and administrative functions of all "irregular" church bodies. It was directed especially against the independent tendencies of the Confessional groups.

Dec. 13.	Announcement Regarding the Creation of Consultative Chambers for the German Evangelical Church (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche*, p. 137).
1936	
Jan. 8.	Disciplinary Decree of the Reich Church Committee Regarding the German Evangelical Church (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche*, p. 9).
Jan. 10.	Decree Regarding Church Corporations (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche*, p. 15).
Jan. 15.	Sixth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 15).
Feb. 7.	Decree Regarding Finance and Accounting of the German Evangelical Church (*Das neue deutsche Reichsrecht*, vol. 1 (d), pp. 45-50).
Feb. 13.	Decree Revising the Rights of Church Officials (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche*, p. 13).
Feb. 26.	Seventh Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 129).
Feb. 26.	Eighth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 130).
Feb. 28.	Ninth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of Septemper 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 130).
March 13.	Tenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 176).
April 30.	Eleventh Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 440).
May 14.	Decree of the Reich Church Committee Regarding the Full Use of Church Property to Meet the Needs of Pastoral Stipends (*Pfarrbesoldung*) (*Das neue deutsche Reichsrecht*, vol. 1 (d), pp. 54-56).
July 30.	Decree Exempting Members of the Military (*Wehrmachtsangehörigen*) From Church Taxes (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche*, p. 9).
Aug. 19.	Decree Changing the Decree of February 13, 1936, Revising the Rights of Church Officials (*Gesetzbl. d. Dt. Ev. Kirche*).
Oct. 14.	Twelfth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 884).
Dec. 1.	Law Regarding the Hitler Youth (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 993).[10]

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[10] According to this law all German youth were placed under the control of the Hitler Youth organization, to be trained for service in the spirit of National Socialism. This measure had far-reaching effects upon all youth organizations of the churches.

1937	
Feb. 15.	Decree of the Fuehrer and Reichschancellor Regarding the Convening of a General Synod to Write a New Constitution for the German Evangelical Church (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 203).[11]
Feb. 18.	Edict Concerning the Resignation of Church Membership (*Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler*, vol. 22, p. 676).[12]
March 20.	Thirteenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1. p. 333).[13]
June 10.	Fourteenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 651).
June 25.	Fifteenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 697).
June 25.	Sixteenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 698).
Dec. 10.	Seventeenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol 1, p. 1346).[14]
1938	
March 28.	Decree Depriving Jewish Religious Communities of the Status of Public-Law Corporations (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 338).
June 3.	Eighteenth Executive Decree Supplementing the Law of September 24, 1935 (*RGBl.*, vol. 1, p. 618).
June 30.	Proclamation Denying Church Political Groups the Right of Exercising Functions of Church Government (*Die Gesetzgebung des Kabinetts Hitler*, vol. 27, p. 512).
1939-1945.	Church affairs overshadowed by the events of World War II.

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[11] This decree was issued after four years of uncertain efforts to bring unity to German Protestantism under the constitution adopted in 1933. However, this decree was not put into effect.

[12] This edict expressly forbade any announcement from the pulpit regarding those who had left the church—a prohibition with which Niemoeller, and others, refused to comply.

[13] Having failed to reconcile the opposition within the church by the expedient of church committees and being unable to reach an agreement on a new election, Kerrl transferred the administration of the German Evangelical Church to Dr. Werner, director of the church chancellery (*Kirchenkanzlei*).

[14] This decree confirmed Dr. Werner as state administrator of church affairs.

Aug., 1945. Treysa conference of German Protestantism organized the German Evangelical Church (*Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland,* or E.K.I.D.). This E.K.I.D. was similar to the Church Federation of 1922 (*Kirchenbund*). Church leadership was placed in the hands of men who had taken a clear stand with regard to National Socialism.

March, 1947. Allied Control Authority abolished that portion of the 1933 church constitution which had created the office of Reich bishop, leaving the revising or replacing of the constitution to the church itself.

Feb., 1948. Allied Control Council enacted law No. 62, which eliminated all basic church laws of Nazi origin.[15]

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[15] The principles of the 1933 concordat between the Holy See and the German Reich, however, continued to be observed by the occupying powers of Western Germany.

APPENDIX III

A Letter Written by Dr. Heinrich Bruening[1]

Littauer Center 209,
Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts,
May 1, 1945.

DEAR MR. WESTERMEYER:

I am sorry for my belated answer to your letter of March 26. The documents of Nazi church policy are, of course, scattered, and the question is particularly complicated with regard to the Protestant church.

After the Reformation the Protestant churches became territorial state churches, like the Anglican Church in England. The greater number of the territories had disappeared by 1802, and after the Peace of Lunéville a certain consolidation occurred. It made further progress after the Treaty of Vienna, when the number of territories in Germany was further reduced. King Frederick William IV was eager to unite all the Protestant churches in Prussia on a common basis, as was attempted in England after the last war. His efforts led to the formation of the so-called Protestant Union, which enabled Reformed Protestants (Calvinists) to join in the Protestant church institutions in western Prussia, that is, in the Rhineland and Westphalia. That did not prevent the Calvinist dogmatic tradition from remaining very strong in western Germany.

In 1929, when negotiations were begun for an agreement between the state of Prussia and the various Protestant churches in Prussia, there were, as far as I remember, still eighteen Protestant state churches in Prussia, several of them in the former kingdom of Hannover. These negotiations made little progress until I was appointed mediator, at the request of a number of the Protestant groups and the wish of President Hindenburg. Agreement was then reached in a very short time. You will find the law in which it was enacted in the *Preussische Gesetzes Sammlung* for 1931. Because of the resistance of a large part of the leaders of the Protestant church at that time, the so-called "episcopal problem" was not solved by the agreement.

It was on the ground of that problem that the Nazis interfered in the Protestant church. Most of the orders and laws concerning it are in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* and the *Preussische Gesetzes Sammlung* for 1933.

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[1] Dr. Heinrich Bruening was Hitler's predecessor as chancellor of Germany from March, 1930, until May, 1932. He was also the last chairman of the Center Party before its dissolution in July, 1933. It appears that Bruening narrowly escaped the purge of June 30, 1934. After the outbreak of World War II he joined the teaching staff of Harvard University.

The Protestant church wanted as Reich bishop, Pastor Bodelschwingh, a very eminent man, the son of the deeply religious founder of the Bethel Institute at Bielefeld, which was destroyed by bombing in 1940. It was perhaps the greatest charitable institution of its time, and had great popular influence. The Nazis succeeded in disposing of Bodelschwingh and appointing an army chaplain of very doubtful reputation, Mueller, Reich bishop. His attempts to introduce Nazi ideology into the churches produced the violent reaction in the Protestant church which led to the arrest of many of its pastors over a period of years, and finally to the exclusion of religious instruction by Protestant pastors from the schools. In the beginning Protestant ecclesiastical leaders were not united. In the end about 90 per cent of them made a courageous and definite resistance to the Nazis. The Nazis continued some religious instruction in the schools, by teachers imbued with Nazi ideology. This was more dangerous than the complete exclusion of religion from the schools might have been. A collection of relevant documents was published in England in the middle '30's, but I cannot at the moment cite it.

The position of the Catholic Church was determined by the concordat of 1933, which was rather vaguely formulated and was not observed in spirit by the Nazis. The bishops' committee for a time continued negotiations, but found them utterly hopeless, especially after the Nazi campaign of defamation of Catholic priests, with staged trials and paid witnesses. From that time the development has been the same as in the Protestant church. The stand taken against the Nazis by the annual conference of German Catholic bishops at Fulda and by individual members of the episcopate is well known. The sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber have been published in this country, and some of the sermons of Bishop Galen of Münster have been published in England. Several thousand Catholic priests have been arrested, and a number of them, if they are still alive, will have been in concentration camps for more than nine years. Except for the hospitals managed by Catholic nuns, the buildings of religious orders have been expropriated and used for military purposes.

The attitude of the Nazis toward other religious groups has varied somewhat. For a time Christian Scientists, Mennonites, and Baptists were protected by the Nazis. This was probably due to an effort to convince particular influential individuals that the Nazis were not irreligious. Adventists, on the other hand, were persecuted very severely because of their agitation against conscription.

May I add that it is very difficult to follow up the Nazi attitude toward the churches, from the United States, as most newspapers here ceased to publish anything about it in 1938, though anti-Jewish Nazi measures were still widely publicized. If I later discover any convenient collection of documents, I shall remember to let you know of it.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Heinrich Bruening.

Mr. H. E. Westermeyer,
College Place, Washington.

APPENDIX IV

Glossary of German Terms

Anschluss—Union of Austria with Germany.

Arier—Aryan, a word related to Aryas, the name applied to Sanskrit-speaking people. The "pure-blooded" Germans claimed the Aryans as their parent stock.

Bekenntnis—Confession or creed.

Bekenntnis Christen—The Confessional group of Protestants who held closely to the confessions and the Scriptures.

Bekenntniskirche—Confessional or creedal church.

Beschlussstelle—A special bureau in the Ministry of the Interior empowered to make final decisions in church matters.

Bewegung—As applied to National Socialism, the term refers to the early stages of the movement.

Bruderrat—Brotherhood Council, a governing body of the Confessional group of German Protestants.

Bund—An association or confederation.

Das Dritte Reich—Third Reich, the National Socialist State. The Holy Roman Empire (843-1806) was regarded as the First Reich; Bismarck's creation (1871-1918), the Second Reich. The democratic regime (1919-1932) was "thirteen years of shame and disgrace."

Der Angriff—Official organ of the German Labor Front.

Deutsche Christen—German Christians who favored a synthesis of Christianity with Nazism.

Deutschgläubige—Those who advocated a distinctive German faith; also known as *Neuheiden* (neopagans).

Entkonfessionalisierung—Deconfessionalization—refers to the tactics employed by the Nazis to lessen the public influence of the churches.

Ersatz—Substitute.

Fuehrer—The leader, Adolf Hitler, or any subordinate leader with complete authority over his *Gau* (area of jurisdiction).

Fuehrer Prinzip—The leadership principle, as exemplified in the Nazi Party, whereby the leader exercised absolute authority and his subordinates owed him unquestioning obedience.

Gau—A major party administrative district; in 1940 Germany was divided into 41 *Gaue*. All party members residing abroad were included in a separate *Gau*.

Gauleiter—The supreme party leader in the *Gau*.

Gefolgschaft—Followers.

Germania—Leading German Catholic daily.

Gestapo—Contraction of *Geheime Staatspolizei;* the German secret police under Himmler.

Gleichschaltung—The process of co-ordinating or forcing German organizations of all types to conform to the Nazi pattern and accept party control.

Götterdämmerung—Twilight of the gods; end of the world.

Gründlichkeit—Thoroughness.

Hakenkreuz—The Nazi emblem, better known by its Sanskrit equivalent of "swastika."

Heil Hitler—The standard Nazi greeting implying allegiance to Hitler.

Herrenvolk—Master race.

Hitler Jugend—Hitler Youth organization.

Kaput—Defunct, dead.

Kirchenausschuss—Church committee.

Kirchenbund—Church federation. The term was frequently used to designate the 1922 federation of the *Landeskirchen*.

Kirchenrat—Church council.

Kirchentag—Church assembly.

Kleinstaaterei—Political divisions of nineteenth-century Germany.

Konkordat—Concordat.

Kraft durch Freude—Strength Through Joy. Name of the labor recreation branch of the Nazi party.

Kulturkampf—Political struggle initiated by Bismarck in 1872, between the German imperial government and the Roman Catholic Church.

Landeskirchen—Territorial churches.

Lebensraum—Literally, living space; the undefined sphere of influence over which Nazi domination was to be established.

Mythus—A conquering faith in Germanic blood, honor, and freedom. Rosenberg's philosophical work was called, *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts.*

Nationalsozialist—A member or supporter of the Nazi Party.

Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei—National Socialist German Workers' Party; the Nazi Party.

Nazi—Abbreviated form of *Nationalsozialist.*

NS—Abbreviation for *Nationalsozialist.*

N.S.D.A.P.—Abbreviation for *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei.*

Neuheidentum—Neopaganism. A distinctive German faith.

Partei—As applied to National Socialism, refers to the Nazi Party.

Parteigenosse—Party member.

Pfarrernotbund—Pastors' Emergency League, organized for the purpose of counteracting the influence of the German Christians.

Pfarrzwang—An arrangement whereby the parishioners remain bound to their own parishes in that they must turn to the ministers of the parishes in which they reside for all official ministerial services such as baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc.

Pogrom—A Russian word meaning literally, "devastation." Pogroms usually lasted three days.

Rasse—Race.

Reich—Germany.

Reichsbischof—Reich bishop.

Reichsgesetzblatt—The official German bulletin of laws, in which important laws and decrees of the German government are published.

Reichskulturkammer—Compulsory organization of intellectual professions under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Propaganda, from which all non-Aryans were automatically excluded.

SA or *Sturmabteilung*—Storm Troops; the political shock troops of the Nazi party in Germany.

Sieg Heil—Literally, Hail Victory; the rallying cry of the Nazis.

SS or *Schutzstaffel*—Elite Guard; the personal bodyguard of the Fuehrer; the armed force of the party under Himmler.

Sterbensraum—Dying space.

Totalität—Literally, totality as applied to National Socialism. It connotes the idea that the people and the state are fully given over to the spirit of National Socialism. There can be no exception.

Völkischer Beobachter—Literally *People's Observer*. It was known as Hitler's paper and was the chief organ of the Nazis.

Volk, Blut, Boden—Folk, blood, soil, an ideologically conceived triad, which suggested the indigenous culture of the Germans.

Volksgemeinschaft—People's or racial community; the world-wide community comprising all people of German blood.

Volksgenosse—Racial comrade; a person of German blood regardless of citizenship.

Weltanschauung—Literally, world-view; philosophy; commonly used in reference to the ideology of the Nazi Party.

Winterhilfe—Winter relief, a Nazi-sponsored, nondenominational program of charities.

Zeitung—Newspaper.

APPENDIX V

The Population of Germany by Areas, 1933, According to Religious Affiliations

Areas	Total Population June 16, 1933	Evangelical and Other Protestants	Catholics	Believing Jews	Others	Evangelical and Other Protestants	Catholics	Believing Jews	Others
						Per Cent of Total Population			
Prussia	39,934,011	25,387,595	12,571,007	361,826	1,613,583	63.6	31.5	.9	4.
Bavaria	7,681,584	2,203,392	5,370,815	41,939	65,438	28.7	69.9	.5	.9
Saxony	5,196,652	4,522,856	196,839	20,584	456,373	87.	3.8	.4	8.8
Württemberg	2,696,324	1,811,797	839,678	10,023	34,826	67.2	31.1	.4	1.3
Baden	2,412,951	943,540	1,408,532	20,617	40,262	39.1	58.4	.9	1.6
Thüringia	1,659,510	1,485,636	44,894	2,882	126,098	89.5	2.7	.2	7.6
Hesse	1,429,048	933,473	439,048	17,888	38,639	65.3	30.7	1.3	2.7
Hamburg	1,218,447	952,381	63,538	16,973	185,555	78.2	5.2	1.4	15.2
Mecklenburg	805,213	764,794	31,831	1,003	7,585	95.	4.	.1	.9
Oldenburg	573,853	428,435	133,265	1,240	10,913	74.7	23.2	.2	1.9
Brunswick	512,989	454,250	21,904	1,174	35,661	88.6	4.3	.2	6.9
Bremen	371,558	317,188	24,122	1,438	28,810	85.4	6.5	.4	7.7
Anhalt	364,415	320,708	13,008	901	29,798	87.9	3.6	.3	8.2
Lippe	175,538	165,337	8,427	510	1,264	94.2	4.8	.3	.7
Lübeck	136,413	124,856	4,505	497	6,555	91.5	3.3	.4	4.8
Schaumburg-Lippe	49,955	48,913	674	187	181	97.9	1.3	.4	.4
German Reich[1]	65,218,461	40,865,151	21,172,087	499,682	2,681,541	62.7	32.5	.8	4.

[1] The Saar not included.

APPENDIX VI

The Population of Germany by Areas, 1946, According to Religious Affiliations

	CATHOLIC	EVANGELICAL	JEWISH	OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS	UNCHURCHED	TOTAL POPULATION
Berlin (Total)	348,257	2,278,108	7,585	20,166	533,354	3,187,470
Soviet Sector	122,808	830,384	2,535	6,444	212,411	1,174,582
American Sector	107,144	707,589	2,156	6,645	156,312	979,846
British Sector	76,548	442,737	2,147	4,582	79,273	605,287
French Sector	41,757	297,398	747	2,495	85,358	427,755
American Zone	8,977,176	7,384,298	28,011	127,466	365,106	16,882,057
British Zone	8,081,547	12,826,488	6,321	229,734	917,472	22,061,562
French Zone	3,070,131	1,870,821	1,331	28,218	69,746	5,040,247
Soviet Zone	2,110,507	14,132,174	2,094	90,145	978,814	17,313,734
Total Population	22,587,618	38,491,889	45,342	495,729	2,864,492	64,485,070
Per Cent	35%	59.7%	.1%	.8%	4.4%	100%

APPENDIX VII

Chronological Table of Religious and Political Events

A. Important Periods in German History

843-1806. The First Reich, the Holy Roman Empire.

1807-1870. Interim between the First and the Second Reich: Napoleon's defeat and the Germanic Confederation, 1815; *Kleinstaaterei* (particularism in the Germanies); *Zollverein* (customs union), from which Austria was excluded; Frankfort Assembly, 1849; Austro-Prussian War, 1866; Franco-Prussian War, 1870.

1871-1918. The Second Reich, the German Empire—Bismarck's creation.

1919-1932. Interim between the Second and the Third Reich: the Weimar Republic—"thirteen years of shame and humiliation," according to the Nazis.

1933-1945. The Third Reich (Nazism), its triumph and its *Götterdämmerung*.

B. Events Before the Victory of National Socialism

1517. Luther's ninety-five theses at Wittenberg.

1555. Religious Peace at Augsburg: *cuius regio, eius religio*.

1648. Treaty of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War of religion. Calvinists admitted to privileges of Religious Peace of Augsburg.

1803. Ecclesiastical principalities of Holy Roman Empire secularized.

1817. Evangelical church of the Prussian Union formed a union of Lutheran Reformed churches of Prussia.

1846. Beginning of "German Catholicism."

1852. Eisenach Conference. *Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenbund* (German Evangelical Church Federation) formed from separate territorial churches.

1870. Vatican Council. Dogma of Infallibility.

1871. Beginning of Old Catholicism. Founding of Center Party.

1873. The *Kulturkampf* at its height. The "May laws." Wilhelm Marr's pamphlet: *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum* (*The Victory of Judaism Over Germanism*).

1874. Paul de Lagarde's *Diagnose*. Advocacy of a national church.

1879. Formation of Christian Socialist party under leadership of Adolf Stoecker. Anti-Semitic uprising.

1911. Karl Jathow dismissed.

1913. Prewar high point of withdrawals from the churches. Organization of *Die Germanische Glaubensgemeinschaft* (The Germanic Faith Fellowship).

1918. Treaty of Brest Litovsk. Final German drive in the West. Hitler poisoned by mustard gas. Kiel mutiny and the political revolution. Flight of the Kaiser. Signing of the Armistice. Provisional government controlled by Majority Socialists.

1919. The great Communist revolt crushed by Gustav Noske. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg killed. German Republic established, with Friedrich Ebert as president. Theoretical separation of church and state. Improved status of Jews. Treaty of Versailles, containing "war guilt" clause and demand for surrender of "war criminals." Loss of colonies, reparations. League of Nations. Bavarian People's Party organized. Hitler, the seventh member of the German Workers' Party.

1920. Kapp *Putsch*. The launching of the twenty-five-point program of N.S.D.A.P. No Jew to be a *Volksgenosse* (racial comrade). Anti-Semitism and positive Christianity.

1921. Postwar high point of withdrawals from the churches. Assassination of Matthias Erzberger, Centrist leader and former finance minister. National despondency. Control of government passing into grasp of the Right. The *Sturmabteilung* founded, with Captain Ernst Roehm as the guiding spirit.

1922. Assassination of Walther Rathenau, Jewish industrialist and foreign minister. Signing of treaty of Rapallo with Russia. Mussolini's march on Rome. A march on Berlin contemplated by Roehm and other army officers. Formation of *Kirchenbund* of the *Landeskirchen*.

1923. French occupation of the Ruhr. German financial collapse. Ludendorff-Hitler *Putsch*. Hitler begins work on *Mein Kampf*. Separatist movement in the Rhineland. The beginning of Stresemann's policy of reconciliation in foreign relations.

1924. Concordat with Bavaria. Dawes Reparations Plan. Hitler Youth and *Schutzstaffel* organized.

1925. Locarno Treaties. Paul von Hindenburg elected president. Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* completed. Publication of the first edition of *Mein Kampf*.

1926. Admission of Germany to League of Nations.

1928. Germany's adherence to the Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war. Germany takes part in Olympic games. Five-year plan begun in Soviet Union.

1929. Young Plan for settlement of reparations. Beginning of world depression. "Roman question" solved by Lateran Accord. Circumnavigation of the globe by *Graf Zeppelin.* Ecclesiastical treaty with Prussia.

1930. Evacuation of Rhineland. Twenty-seven parties elect candidates on September 14. Four million unemployed. Gains made by Communists and Nazis. Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* published. Episcopal action against National Socialism.

1931. Hoover Moratorium. *Anschluss* opposed by Allies.

1932. Beginning of Faith Movement of German Christians. Concordat with Baden. First publication of *Der Stürmer,* with Julius Streicher as editor.

C. Events After the Victory of National Socialism

1933.	
Jan. 30.	*Machtergreifung* (assumption of power), with Hitler as chancellor; Papen, vice-chancellor. Government's proclamation friendly to the churches.
Feb. 18.	*Germania* and other Catholic journals temporarily suspended.
Feb. 27.	Burning of the Reichstag building, followed by anti-Communist propaganda and strong-arm methods against all other opposition.
March 4.	Inauguration of F. D. Roosevelt as President of U.S.A.
March 5.	Of the 39,000,000 votes cast in Reichstag election the National Socialists secured 17,000,000 and the Nationalists 3,000,000, totaling about 52 per cent for the Hitler-Papen government.
March 23.	Enabling Act passed by a Reichstag vote of 441 to 94. The Reichstag prorogued, and the Third Reich a *fait accompli.*
March 28.	Withdrawal of episcopal warnings against National Socialism.
April 1.	Jewish boycott in protest against treasonable propaganda of Jewry abroad. A decline in German exports.
April 3-5.	Congress of German Christians favorable to *Fuehrer-Prinzip* in church organization.
April 7.	Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service: the Aryan paragraph.
April 21.	Antishehitah law prohibits the slaying of animals according to Jewish ritual.
April 25.	Ludwig Mueller appointed Hitler's plenipotentiary.
May 2.	Nazi attack upon German trade unions.

May 6.	Heinrich Bruening succeeds Kaas as leader of the Center Party with power to reorganize.
May 10.	Jewish and liberal works consigned to the flames under the direction of Joseph Goebbels.
May 20.	Kapler's committee issues the "Manifest of Loccum," a draft of the Evangelical Church constitution.
May 23.	Ludwig Mueller appointed *Schirmherr* (protector) of German Christians; also sponsored as *Reichsbischof.*
May 27.	The "Manifest of Loccum" approved by the *Kirchenbund.* Bodelschwingh nominated *Reichsbischof.*
June 11.	Pastoral letter from Fulda, supporting the Catholic press, associations, etc.
June 24.	Jaeger appointed state commissioner for Prussian church affairs. Bodelschwingh resigns as *Reichsbischof.*
June 30.	Hindenburg's letter on the situation in the church.
July 1.	The sterilization law approved by the cabinet.
July 4.	Bavarian People's Party dissolves itself.
July 5.	The Center Party dissolves itself.
July 8.	Initialing of the Reich concordat.
July 11.	Approval of the constitution of the German Evangelical Church. The loose federation of 1922 superseded by a centralized organization under a *Reichsbischof.*
July 15.	Law prohibiting the formation of new political parties.
July 20.	Signing of the Reich concordat.
July 22.	Hitler's speech favoring the German Christians on the eve of the church election.
July 23.	Evangelical Church election results in a victory for the German Christians.
July 25.	Publication of the sterilization law.
July 28.	Nazi-inspired articles in the press against the *Osservatore Romano's* interpretation of the concordat.
July 29, 30.	Meeting of adherents of the German Faith Movement at Eisenach. Hauer chosen leader.
Aug. 1.	Assassination of Chancellor Dollfuss.
Sept. 5.	Prussian general synod. Mueller acclaimed first bishop of Prussia. The Aryan paragraph to be all-inclusive for church pastors. The Gospel and Church group (Confessionals) leaves the synod.
Sept. 10.	The ratification of the concordat by the Vatican.
Sept. 21.	First German national synod at Wittenberg.
Sept. 27.	Mueller chosen as *Reichsbischof* by the synod.
Sept. 29.	Non-Aryanism made "retroactive" to January 1, 1800.

Oct. 13.	Decree of Hess that National Socialists need not belong to any religious confession.
Nov. 12.	Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations.
Nov. 13.	German Christians' demonstration in *Sportpalast,* Berlin, under chairmanship of Bishop Hossenfelder. Krause calls for Old Testament to be abandoned; the New Testament to be revised. The Pfarrenotbund (Pastors' Emergency League) is formed, out of which grew the Confessional Church.
Nov. 16.	The national synod suspends the application of the Aryan paragraph to the church.
Dec. 19.	Mueller delivers *die evangelische Jugend Deutschlands*—the whole Evangelical youth movement under Erich Stange—to Baldur von Schirach; its members—more than 700,000 in 1933—become part of the Hitler Youth.
Dec. 20.	Emergency League demands Mueller's resignation.
Dec. 21.	Hossenfelder resigns. Cardinal Faulhaber's sermons preached in Munich during Advent: *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum.*
1934.	
Jan. 3, 4.	First synod at Barmen. Repudiates authority of any ecclesiastical Fuehrer.
Jan. 4.	Mueller reimposes Aryan paragraph on Church of Prussia and issues "muzzling order," forbidding pastors to introduce references to church controversy in their sermons or publish books or pamphlets on the subject.
Jan 20.	Law for organization of German labor.
Jan. 25.	Meeting of representatives of church opposition with Hitler. Goering intervenes. The secret police report telephone conversation by Niemoeller; interpreted as hostile to the state.
Jan. 27.	Bishops capitulate and declare themselves to be in agreement with Mueller.
Jan. 30.	Reichstag's unanimous approval of transfer of sovereign powers of German states to the Reich government.
Feb. 9.	Rosenberg's *Der Mythus* on the Index.
Feb. 24.	Germany's ten-year military and commercial pact with Poland.
April 12.	Jaeger appointed Mueller's legal administrator.
April 22.	Conference at Ulm. Confessional pastors declare themselves to be the constitutional Evangelical Church of Germany.

May 1.	Ritual number of *Der Stürmer*—rabidly anti-Semitic.
May 29-31.	The Confessional synod of the Evangelical Church held at Barmen. A futile attempt to abolish differences among Lutheran, Reformed, and United Confessions. A definitive break with German Christians.
June 5-7.	Conference at Fulda. The joint pastoral forbidden to be read from church pulpits.
June 26.	Hitler promises bishops to end neopagan propaganda.
June 30.	Political purge. Klausener, leader of Catholic Action, assassinated. "Agreement" with state and party on interpretation of concordat.
July 3.	Decree of Reich cabinet legalizing measures of June 30.
July 15.	Chancellor Dollfuss a victim of Nazi *Putsch* in Austria.
July 18.	Hitler interviews Jaeger and Mueller; 22 out of 28 churches already "merged" in the *Reichskirche.*
Aug. 2.	Death of Hindenburg. Hitler assumes usual function and powers of president of Reich as Fuehrer and Reich chancellor.
Aug. 9.	Mueller summons the second national synod in Berlin. Oath for pastors and church officials to accept all orders of the German Evangelical Church. Synod "legalizes" incorporation of churches of Hanover, Württemberg, and Bavaria.
Aug. 15.	Approval of Hitler's policies by "political testament" of the late president.
Aug. 19.	Endorsement of Hitler's policies by a 90 per cent vote of the people.
Sept. 23.	Mueller installed as *Reichsbischof.*
Oct.	Catholic scholars anonymously issue *Studien zum Mythus,* exposing Rosenberg's errors.
Oct. 20.	Second Reich Synod of Confessional Church at Dahlem. *Bruderrat* (Council of Brethren) formed, with an executive committee, to conduct affairs of the Confessional Church.
Oct. 30.	Interview of bishops with Hitler; he would leave church to deal with its own problems.
Oct. 31.	Announcement of Jaeger's resignation of all offices.
Nov. 6, 7.	Decrees by Frick prohibiting further discussion of church questions.
Nov. 8.	Confessionals demand Mueller's resignation. Mueller refuses, November 18.
Nov. 26.	Karl Barth's suspension on refusal to take oath unconditionally.

Dec. 21.	Dismissal of Barth by disciplinary court; final dismissal, June, 1935.
1935.	
Feb. 27.	The provisional Confessional government of the church protests against the new paganism.
March 1.	The Saar plebiscite—90 per cent in favor of returning to Germany.
March 9.	The "currency trials" begin.
March 11.	Law published creating special departments for the management of the finance of the church in Prussia. Arrest of Prussian pastors.
March 16.	Hitler's announcement of his plan to increase German army to 500,000 men.
March 26.	Employers united with the *Arbeitsfront*.
April 24.	President of Reich press chamber issues decrees, practically silencing the Catholic press.
June	Rosenberg's answer to *Studien zum Mythus:An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit*.
June 4-6.	Third Confessional synod at Augsburg. An appeal to theological teachers and students for loyalty to the principles of the Confessional Church.
June 26.	Government withdraws church from ordinary courts and makes all legal questions subject to a *Beschlussstelle in kirchlichen Rechtsangelegenheiten* (Legal Bureau of Church Affairs) in the Ministry of Interior. Reich Labor Service Law.
July 16.	Creation of a Reich ministry for ecclesiastical affairs. Appointment of Kerrl as minister.
July 17.	Goering attacks "political Catholicism."
Aug. 4.	Kerrl appoints himself head of the new *Beschlussstelle*.
Aug. 20.	The printing of the bishops' pastoral is forbidden.
Sept.	Nazis launch program of making Germany an autarchic state (*Autarkie*).
Sept. 15.	Nuremberg laws deny Jews the right of citizenship, franchise, and marriage with Aryans. The display of the swastika by Jews is forbidden.
Sept. 24.	Publication of the Law for the Safeguarding of the German Evangelical Church.
Oct. 14.	Formation of the Reich church committee to unify the Evangelical Church. The Confessionals refuse to cooperate.
Oct. 28.	The propaganda ministry imposes a censorship before publication on all church periodicals.

Nov.	Gestapo closes two theological seminaries organized by the Confessional synods.
Dec. 2.	Kerrl issues a decree prohibiting "unofficial" executive and administrative functions.
Dec. 20.	Kerrl issues another decree specifically forbidding the Provisional Church government and Council of Brethren to exercise authoritative functions in designated areas. Niemoeller declares publicly that he would refuse obedience.
Dec. 27.	High Commissioner McDonald's letter of resignation to the president of the League of Nations depicts the plight of the Jewish refugees.
1936.	This year sees the systematic attack upon the Confessional schools. "Immorality trials" take the place of "currency trials."
Jan. 19.	Niemoeller publishes pamphlet, *Die Staatskirche ist da;* it is confiscated by the police.
Feb. 17-22.	The fourth national assembly of the Confessional synod at Oeynhausen. New Council of Brethren and Executive Committee appointed. Disagreement over administration and church discipline.
March 7.	Hitler's announcement repudiating the Treaty of Versailles, and march of 20,000 German troops into the Rhineland.
March 22.	Reventlow leaves the German Faith Movement; Hauer also resigns. Mueller "rewrites" the Sermon on the Mount.
March 29.	Hitler's foreign policy approved by a 99 per cent popular vote.
May	The German Evangelical Church letter addressed directly to Hitler protests against Nazi *Weltanschauung,* made public the next month.
June	Olympic games.
July	Outbreak of civil war in Spain.
Aug. 23.	The bishops assembled at Fulda send a memorial to Hitler.
Nov. 25.	Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis.
Dec. 1.	Law on the Hitler Youth. The whole youth of Germany is included in the *Hitler Jugend,* to be trained physically, spiritually, and morally in the spirit of National Socialism.
1937.	The beginning of Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement. The Ecumenical conference at Oxford which German churchmen were not allowed to attend. The slow

	destruction of the Confessional school continues. Rift develops between Kerrl and Zoellner over church policies.
Feb.	Zoellner prevented by secret police from visiting pastors who had been arrested by the secret police at Lübeck.
Feb. 13.	Resignation of the Reich's church committee.
Feb. 14.	Kerrl's speech before members of the provincial church committees accuses Zoellner of trying to reform the church instead of securing the recognition of state supremacy over the church.
Feb. 15.	Hitler intervenes and orders a free election by the church. Restoration of Evangelical unity of action.
Feb. 18.	Edict against announcing from the pulpit the names of those withdrawing from the church.
March 2.	Dibelius protests against Kerrl's speech.
March 14.	Issue at the Vatican of the papal encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge.* This encyclical is unique in that it was first published in German.
March 20.	Kerrl transfers the administration of the German Evangelical church to Dr. Werner, head of the German Evangelical *Kirchenkanzlei* (Church chancellery).
June 19.	German aid to Franco in capturing the Basque city of Bilboa—discovery of the best methods for future *Blitzkrieg.*
June 25.	All church finances throughout the Reich are placed under Kerrl.
July 1.	Niemoeller arrested.
Sept.	Mussolini's visit to Germany as Hitler's guest.
Oct. 31.	On Reformation Day the national Council of Brethren and the Lutheran Council issue a joint declaration against Rosenberg's negative influence upon Christian faith.
Nov. 23.	Kerrl's address at Fulda defends positive Christianity of National Socialism and accuses the church of internecine struggles.
Dec. 10.	Kerrl confirms Dr. Werner's position as state administrator of church affairs.
Dec. 20.	Death of General Ludendorff.
1938.	
Feb. 20.	Hitler's Reichstag speech saying that Germany will fight to protect the safety of 10,000,000 Germans living outside the Reich, thus hinting at the conquest of Austria and demands against Czechoslovakia.
March 2.	End of trial of Niemoeller, giving him a sentence of

	seven months' imprisonment. This time was less than served already, so he was set free, but was immediately rearrested by the secret police.
March 12.	Austria taken over by the Germans, and Hitler returns to the land of his birth.
May	Hitler visits Italy to reaffirm good relations with Mussolini.
May 3.	Nazi governor of Württemberg demands the resignation of Catholic Bishop Johan Baptist Sproll, who failed to vote for the *Anschluss.*
Aug. 19.	Catholic bishops meet at Fulda to study religious situation in Germany.
Sept. 28-30.	Munich conference at which Germany was awarded parts of Czechoslovakia. Occupation of Sudetenland in a bloodless conquest.
Nov. 7.	Ernst vom Rath shot in Paris by Herschel Grynzpan, Jewish extremist. Anti-Jewish riots result.
Dec. 6.	Ribbentrop and Bonnett sign German-French nonaggression pact.
Dec. 21.	Ancient German yule rites revived as a return to neopaganism.

1939. Hitler breaks all agreements about Bohemia; Prague occupied; German protectorate imposed on Czechs; special status for Slovakia. Germany occupies Memelland. British and French guarantees to Poland, Rumania, and Greece. Polish crisis. Fresh appeasement of Germany. New German military alliance treaties concluded with Italy and Japan. Berlin-Moscow agreement; new partition of Poland. Hitler invades Poland in spite of warnings, without declaration of war; Britain and France declare war on Germany; complete collapse of Polish military resistance. Russia attacks Finland.

1940. Finland gives way to Russia, with territorial sacrifices. Nazis invade Norway and Denmark, occupy the Netherlands, attack Luxembourg, Belgium, and France; *Blitzkrieg.* British army escapes to England through Dunkirk. Italy declares war on France and Great Britain; German-French armistice; Germans occupy northern France. Pact of Berlin. German air attacks on England.

1941. President Roosevelt proclaims Four Freedoms. Nazis occupy Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Greece. Rudolf Hess flies to Britain. Germany attacks Russia. Atlantic Charter proclaimed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill;

United States extends lend-lease to Russia. Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; United States declares war on Germany and Italy.

1942. United Nations pact. Field Marshall Rommel drives toward Egypt. Allied aircraft begin destroying most of Germany's large cities. Defense of Stalingrad marks turning point of war.

1943. Mussolini overthrown. Cairo conference. Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill meet in Teheran. Allied armies poise for invasion of Europe.

1944. Allied armies land in France; liberation of Paris; American troops take Aachen, their first German city. Free German committee in Russia. Marshal von Rundstedt leads German counteroffensive in Ardennes. Germans give up Rome. Goerdeler-Witzleben attempt on Hitler's life; third serious conspiracy against him fails. New purge and terrorism.

1945. Russians reach Warsaw. Yalta conference. Allies cross the Rhine. American forces conquer Bavaria and reach the Elbe. Death of Hitler and Himmler. Admiral Doenitz as successor to Fuehrer. Russians take Berlin. German forces capitulate; final surrender accepted at American and Russian headquarters. Allied military occupation of Germany; British, American, French, and Russian zones set up; Russians occupy East Prussia, part of Pomerania, Posen, and Silesia. Potsdam conference. Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals begins. Expulsion of Germans from Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, Yugoslavia, Transylvania. German Protestants meet at Treysa, organize the German Evangelical Church (E.K.I.D.) headed by men who had taken a clear stand in regard to National Socialism. Stuttgart Declaration by Protestant leaders acknowledging their guilt. Various military authorities enlist top German scientists.

1946. Denazification of former German officials. Byrnes's Stuttgart speech, with the subsequent establishment of Bizonia. Elections held in American zone resulting in the adoption of constitutions guaranteeing religious freedom. Death of Nazi war criminals, October 16. Goering commits suicide. Niemoeller's visit to the United States.

1947. Abolition of the Prussian state. Allied central authority abolishes office of Reich bishop, leaving problem of constitution to the church. Origin of the Marshall Plan. Report by Herbert Hoover of economic conditions in Germany. Elections held in British zone. Moscow conference fails to bring peace to Germany. German industrialists go on trial. London conference aimed at German peace fails.

1948. Establishment of Bizonia economic union. Russia seeks to oust Western powers from Berlin by instituting blockade; Western powers reply with airlift. German-Soviet treaty documents of 1939-1941 published. German doctors hanged for maiming and killing people for medical purposes. Nearly two hundred persons killed in blast of I. G. Farben industries plant. Industrialists sentenced for exploiting slave labor. Amsterdam ecumenical conference. Anti-Communist demonstration by 250,000 in Russian zone. Allied Control Council enacts law No. 62, eliminating all basic church laws of Nazi origin. Principles of 1933 concordat, however, continue to be observed by occupying powers of Western Germany.

1949. Large numbers of Germans left the Soviet zone of Germany for the Western zones, thus adding to the already overcrowded conditions in the West. The 328-day Berlin blockade ended May 14. Creation of a Federal Republic of Germany with headquarters at Bonn was followed by the establishment of an East German Red regime, with headquarters at Berlin. Devaluation of the westmark. Kurt Schumacher, leader of the Social Democratic Party, accused the Christian Democratic Union of trying to establish the church as a fifth occupation power. The Atlantic Security Pact was implemented by a billion-dollar armament program. November 16 was observed as Repentance Day in the Protestant churches of Germany.

1950. Both Soviets and Westerners groomed German armies in their respective zones. Roman Catholic Church sponsored a Holy Year. Ecumenical church programs aimed to remove denominational barriers. Permission was given for the Oberammergau play.

APPENDIX VIII

An Allegory on Universal Peace

Richard Litke

Once upon a time the animals of the forest grew restless and suspicious of one another concerning their disunited state. The squirrels and the jay birds were especially upset over the great lack of unity amongst their fellows and determined to rally the whole forest behind their campaign to join all the animals into one grand, all-enduring friendship league. One enterprising jay bird, E. Stanislaus Joints, pointed out that it was possible to have a beautiful society if all would co-operate. Each animal could maintain his own color and general shape and still pledge support to the new Animal Friendship League. Joints suggested several branches of the league, such as the Elks branch, the Hyena branch, the Gorilla branch, etc., but all would belong to one league. The various animals would surrender their own peculiarities only in cases which concerned the greater good of the forest.

From the outset many difficulties were encountered. Should the forest animals, for instance, allow the desert animals to unite with them? The lion was a desert animal, strong and influential, but proud and cunning withal. Also, should *all* the forest animals be included? Some of the animals felt that the skunk should not be allowed to join, and others were repulsed by the unsociable porcupine.

For these reasons a number of conferences of animals were called to determine ways of dealing with the problems which would arise in such a league. Invitations were sent to all the forest animals, even to the peaceful beavers, who, however, were continuously occupied in the construction of housing units, and therefore, asked to be excused from these conferences.

After much discussion and many quarrels the animals finally voted to have their great friendship league; and they decided to include within their number all who were desirous of union. Even the skunks and the porcupines were invited to join; and at the last moment an agreement was made with the lion of the desert whereupon the lions consented to join the league. In return for having the privilege of having the lions in the league, the forest animals agreed to consider the chief lion as a sort of older counselor. E. Stanislaus Joints, the jay bird, soon brought in the astounding announcement that he had also secured the membership of the bat tribes who dwelt in the lower cave regions and who were known as meddlers in mysterious things.

Peace was agreed upon, the pact was signed, and the animal world felt that all was well. They could settle down to the enjoyment of the long-awaited Utopian peace, for were not all animals formally united now in a pledge for perpetual peace? That is, all animals except the busy beaver tribe. To be sure, they were interested in universal peace, and for good reason: Never in all animal history had they engaged in a war with another animal tribe. As a matter of fact, they had never mastered the dubious art of making war. Anyhow, they were busily engaged in laying up their winter's supply of bark and in building warm homes for the winter, in spite of the fact that this was only June. Therefore they tactfully begged to be excused from participation in inter-animal conferences. The question relating to the isolationism of the beavers was dropped for the time being, because apparently more serious troubles were developing.

The animals became uneasily aware of the fact that all was not as peaceful as they had imagined. The hawk tribe continued to make war upon the rabbit tribe; and the weasels were suspected of being the cause of the diminishing numbers among the pheasant tribe. To add to this, winter was setting in, and such problems as hunger and cold added to the other causes of discontent. Bad tempers grew worse.

With renewed vigor, the sharp-tongued jay birds raised the cry that the cause of all troubles was the fact that the animals were still not united. The traitorous, rebellious beavers still persisted in remaining out of the league. This, said the jays, was the direct cause of all their troubles. It mattered not a whit to Joints and the rest of his crowd that the beavers were nature's only creation who never had gained the ability to fight, either defensively or offensively, so what was the point in the beavers' joining the league? But slanderous words against the peaceful beavers were taken up by all who came within earshot of the jays' scolding. Such words were repeated by a thousand re-echoing voices, and great wrath was determined upon the offending beavers. It was decided that on a given day all animals should proceed to the beaver pond and utterly exterminate all beavers; not one should be spared.

On the day agreed upon, all the animals gathered for the task. There were sneaking wolves and snarling tigers mingling with frivolous hyenas and gruesome bears. With many a growl and a great gnashing of teeth an immense aggregation met at the water's edge; and there, before their startled gaze, lay the beaver village, inaccessibly surrounded by water and strongly fortified against all marauders by well-built houses of logs, sticks, and hard-baked mud. Entrance into beaverdom was possible only by swimming under water. In each warm and cozy lodging slept a beaver family, unmindful of the elements without.

Enraged and disappointed, the animal hordes turned in fierce indignation upon each other, and a bitter and senseless war was fought, which continued until not an animal remained.

When the sunny days of spring returned, bringing beauty and verdure to the forest again, the beavers came forth from their cottages to be about their work. As they enjoyed the work of their teeth they noticed that a great and happy peace had settled over the forests. They went busily about their modest ways and lived happily ever after.

APPENDIX IX

A Real Case Against the Jews*

(One of Them Points Out the Full Depth of Their Guilt)

Marcus Eli Ravage

Of course, you do resent us. It is no good telling me you don't. So let us not waste any time on denials and alibis. You know you do, and I know it, and we understand each other. To be sure, some of your best friends are Jews, and all that. I have heard that before once or twice, I think. And I know, too, that you do not include me personally —"me" being any particular individual Jew—when you fling out at us in your wholesale fashion, because I am, well, so different, don't you know, almost as good as one of yourselves. That little exemption does not, somehow, move me to gratitude; but never mind that now. It is the aggressive, climbing, pushing, materialistic sort you dislike—those, in a word, who remind you so much of your own up-and-coming brethren. We understand each other perfectly. I don't hold it against you.

Bless my soul, I do not blame anybody for disliking anybody. The thing that intrigues me about this anti-Jewish business, as you play at it, is your total lack of grit. You are so indirect and roundabout with it, you make such fantastic and transparent excuses, you seem to be suffering from self-consciousness so horribly, that if the performance were not grotesque it would be irritating.

It is not as if you were amateurs: you have been at it for over fifteen centuries. Yet watching you and hearing your childish pretexts, one might get the impression that you did not know yourselves what it is all about. You resent us, but you cannot clearly say why. You think up a new excuse—a "reason" is what you call it—every other day. You have been piling up justifications for yourselves these many hundreds of years and each new invention is more laughable than the last and each new excuse contradicts and annihilates the last.

Not so many years ago I used to hear that we were moneygrubbers and commercial materialists; now the complaint is being whispered around that no art and no profession is safe against Jewish invasion.

We are, if you are to be believed, at once clannish and exclusive and

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*Taken from *The Century Magazine,* vol. 115 (January, 1928), pp. 346-350.

unassimilable because we won't intermarry with you, and we are also climbers and pushers and a menace to your racial integrity.

Our standard of living is so low that we create your slums and sweated industries, and so high that we crowd you out of your best residential sections.

We shirk our patriotic duty in wartime because we are pacifists by nature and tradition, and we are the archplotters of universal wars and the chief beneficiaries of those wars (see the late "Dearborn Independent," *passim,* and "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion").

We are at once the founders and leading adherents of capitalism and the chief perpetrators of the rebellion against capitalism.

Surely, history has nothing like us for versatility!

And, oh! I almost forgot the reason of reasons. We are the stiff-necked people who never accepted Christianity, and we are the criminal people who crucified its Founder.

But I tell you, you are self-deceivers. You lack either the self-knowledge or the mettle to face the facts squarely and own up to the truth. You resent the Jew not because, as some of you seem to think, he crucified Jesus, but because he gave him birth. Your real quarrel with us is not that we have rejected Christianity but that we have imposed it upon you!

Your loose, contradictory charges against us are not a patch on the blackness of our proved historic offense. You accuse us of stirring up revolution in Moscow. Suppose we admit the charge. What of it? Compared with what Paul the Jew of Tarsus accomplished in Rome, the Russian upheaval is a mere street brawl.

You make much noise and fury about the undue Jewish influence in your theaters and movie palaces. Very good; granted your complaint is well founded. But what is that compared to our staggering influence in your churches, your schools, your laws and the very thoughts you think every day?

A clumsy Russian forges a set of papers and publishes them in a book called "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which shows that we plotted to bring on the late World War. You believe that book. All right. For the sake of argument we will underwrite every word of it. It is genuine and authentic. But what is that beside the unquestionable historical conspiracy which we have carried out, which we have never denied because you never had the courage to charge us with it, and of which the full record is extant for anybody to read?

If you really are serious when you talk of Jewish plots, may I not direct your attention to one worth talking about? What use is it wasting words on the alleged control of your public opinion by Jewish financiers, newspaper owners, and movie magnates, when you might as well justly accuse us of the proved control of your whole civilization by the Jewish Gospels.

You have not begun to appreciate the real depth of our guilt. We *are* intruders. We *are* disturbers. We *are* subverters. We have taken your natural world, your ideals, your destiny, and played havoc with them. We have been at the bottom not merely of the latest great war but of nearly all your wars, not only of the Russian but of every other major revolution in your history. We have brought discord and confusion and frustration into your personal and public life. We are still doing it. No one can tell how long we shall go on doing it.

Look back a little and see what has happened. Nineteen hundred years ago you were an innocent, carefree, pagan race. You worshiped countless gods and goddesses, the spirits of the air, of the running streams, and of the woodland. You took unblushing pride in the glory of your naked bodies. You carved images of your gods and of the tantalizing human figure. You delighted in the combats of the field, the arena and the battleground. War and slavery were fixed institutions in your systems. Disporting yourselves on the hillsides and in the valleys of the great outdoors, you took to speculating on the wonder and mystery of life and laid the foundations of natural science and philosophy. Yours was a noble, sensual culture, unirked by the prickings of a social conscience or by any sentimental questionings about human equality. Who knows what great and glorious destiny might have been yours if we had left you alone?

But we did not leave you alone. We took you in hand and pulled down the beautiful and generous structure you had reared, and changed the whole course of your history. We conquered you as no empire of yours ever subjugated Africa or Asia. And we did it all without armies, without bullets, without blood or turmoil, without force of any kind. We did it solely by the irresistible might of our spirit, with ideas, with propaganda.

We made you the willing and unconscious bearers of our mission to the whole world, to the barbarous races of the earth, to the countless unborn generations. Without fully understanding what we were doing to you, you became the agents at large of our racial tradition, carrying our gospel to the unexplored ends of the earth.

Our tribal customs have become the core of your moral code. Our tribal laws have furnished the basic groundwork of all your august constitutions and legal systems. Our legends and our folk tales are the sacred lore which you croon to your infants. Our poets have filled your hymnals and your prayer books. Our national history has become an indispensable part of the learning of your pastors and priests and scholars. Our kings, our statesmen, our prophets, our warriors are your heroes. Our ancient little country is your Holy Land. Our national literature is your Holy Bible. What our people thought and taught has become inextricably woven into your very speech and tradition, until no one among you can be called educated who is not familiar with our racial heritage.

Jewish artisans and Jewish fishermen are your teachers and your saints, with countless statues carved in their image and innumerable cathedrals raised to their memories. A Jewish maiden is your ideal of motherhood and womanhood. A Jewish rebel-prophet is the central figure in your religious worship. We have pulled down your idols, cast aside your racial inheritance, and substituted for them our God and our traditions. No conquest in history can even remotely compare with this clean sweep of our conquest over you.

How did we do it? Almost by accident. Two thousand years ago nearly, in far-off Palestine, our religion had fallen into decay and materialism. Money-changers were in possession of the temple. Degenerate, selfish priests mulcted our people and grew fat. Then a young patriot-idealist arose and went about the land calling for a revival of faith. He had no thought of setting up a new church. Like all the prophets before him, his only aim was to purify and revitalize the old creed. He attacked the priests and drove the money-changers from the temple. This brought him into conflict with the established order and its supporting pillars. The Roman authorities, who were in occupation of the country, fearing his revolutionary agitation as a political effort to oust them, arrested him, tried him and condemned him to death by crucifixion, a common form of execution at that time.

The followers of Jesus of Nazareth, mainly slaves and poor workmen, in their bereavement and disappointment, turned away from the world and formed themselves into a brotherhood of pacifist nonresisters, sharing the memory of their crucified leader and living together communistically. They were merely a new sect in Judea, without power or consequence, neither the first nor the last.

Only after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans did the new creed come into prominence. Then a patriotic Jew named Paul or Saul conceived the idea of humbling the Roman power by destroying the morale of its soldiery with the doctrines of love and nonresistance preached by the little sect of Jewish Christians. He became the Apostle to the Gentiles, he who hitherto had been one of the most active persecutors of the band. And so well did Paul do his work that within four centuries the great empire which had subjugated Palestine along with half of the world, was a heap of ruins. And the law which went forth from Zion became the official religion of Rome.

This was the beginning of our dominance in your world. But it was only a beginning. From this time forth your history is little more than a struggle for mastery between your own old pagan spirit and our Jewish spirit. Half your wars, great and little, are religious wars, fought over the interpretation of one thing or another in our teachings. You no sooner broke free from your primitive religious simplicity and attempted the practice of the pagan Roman learning than Luther armed with our gospels arose to down you and re-enthrone our heritage. Take the three principal revolutions in modern times—the French, the American and the Russian. What are they but the triumph of the Jewish idea of social, political and economic justice?

And the end is still a long way off. We still dominate you. At this very moment your churches are torn asunder by a civil war between Fundamentalists and Modernists, that is to say, between those who cling to our teachings and traditions literally and those who are striving by slow steps to disposses us. In Dayton, Tennessee, a Bible-bred community forbids the teaching of your science because it conflicts with our ancient Jewish account of the origin of life; and Mr. Bryan, the leader of the anti-Jewish Ku Klux Klan in the Democratic National Convention, makes the supreme fight of his life in our behalf, without noticing the contradiction. Again and again the Puritan heritage of Judea breaks out in waves of stage censorship, Sunday blue laws, and national prohibition acts. And while these things are happening you twaddle about Jewish influence in the movies!

Is it any wonder you resent us? We have put a clog upon your progress. We have imposed upon you an alien book and an alien faith which you cannot swallow or digest, which is at cross-purposes with your native spirit, which keeps you everlastingly ill-at-ease, and which you lack the spirit either to reject or to accept in full.

In full, of course, you never have accepted our Christian teachings. In your hearts you still are pagans. You still love war and graven images and strife. You still take pride in the glory of the nude human figure. Your social conscience, in spite of all democracy and all your social revolutions, is still a pitifully imperfect thing. We have merely divided your soul, confused your impulses, paralyzed your desires. In the midst of battle you are obliged to kneel down to him who commanded you to turn the other cheek, who said "Resist not evil" and "Blessed are the peacemakers." In your lust for gain you are suddenly disturbed by a memory from your Sunday-school days about taking no thought for the morrow. In your industrial struggles, when you would smash a strike without compunction, you are suddenly reminded that the poor are blessed and that men are brothers in the Fatherhood of the Lord. And as you are about to yield to temptation, your Jewish training puts a deterrent hand on your shoulder and dashes the brimming cup from your lips. You Christians have never become Christianized. To that extent we have failed with you. But we have forever spoiled the fun of paganism for you.

So why should you not resent us? If we were in your place we should probably dislike you more cordially than you do us. But we should make no bones about telling you why. We should not resort to subterfuges and transparent pretexts. With millions of painfully respectable Jewish shopkeepers all about us we should not insult your intelligence and our own honesty by talking about communism as a Jewish philosophy. And with millions of hard-working impecunious Jewish peddlers and laborers we should not make ourselves ridiculous by talking about international capitalism as a Jewish monopoly. No, we should go straight to the point. We should contemplate this confused, ineffectual muddle which we call civilization, this half-Christian, half-pagan medley, and—were our places reversed—we should say to you point-blank: "For this mess thanks to you, to your prophets, and to your Bible."

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Therefore, Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* Rosenberg's *Der Mythus,* the *Reichsgesetzblatt* (Hitler's official law gazette), Schmidt's *Bekenntnisse (Confessions),* along with the 1933 concordat and the constitution of the German Evangelical Church, constitute the chief sources.

Neuhaeusler's *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz* and Kuenneth's *Der Grosse Abfall* cover the more recent developments of religion in Germany, and they present the Catholic and Protestant points of view respectively. Neuhaeusler is especially good in identifying the German gods. His work has the imprimatur of the Catholic Church, and it serves as an official corroboration of what was written anonymously in an earlier book entitled, *The Persecution of the Catholic Church in the Third Reich.*

An objective treatment of religious developments in recent Germany has its peculiar difficulties. In the first place, controversial issues of any religious nature stir the deepest emotions and frequently lead to excesses in word, as well as in deed. The German religious press was rigidly censored, while the liberal foreign press was free to report its own findings and what German refugee writers offered. Consequently partisanship and propaganda becloud much of that which has been published.

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